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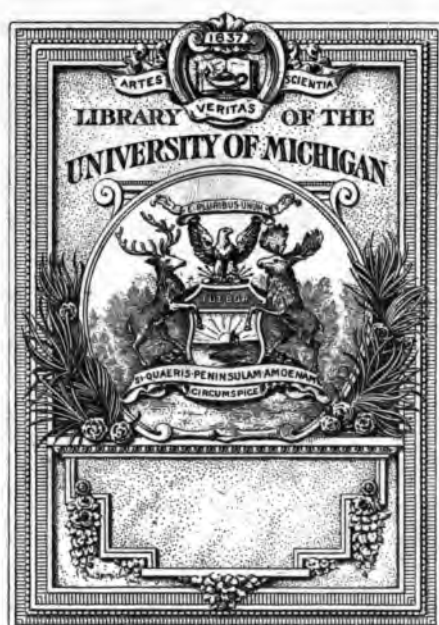
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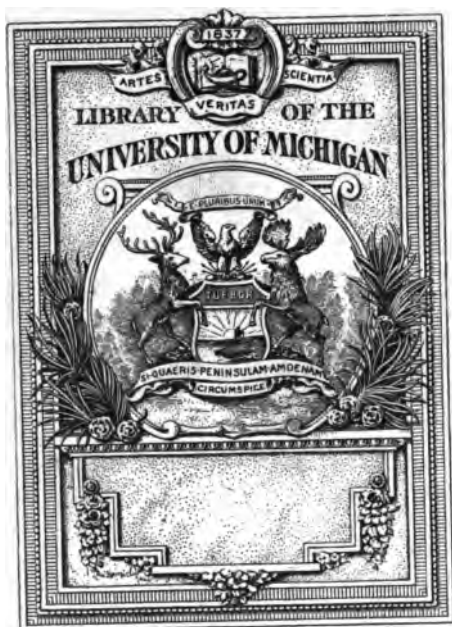
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THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY
JOHN YONGE AKERMAN,
FELLOW AND SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

VOL. XVII.



APRIL, 1854.—JANUARY, 1855.



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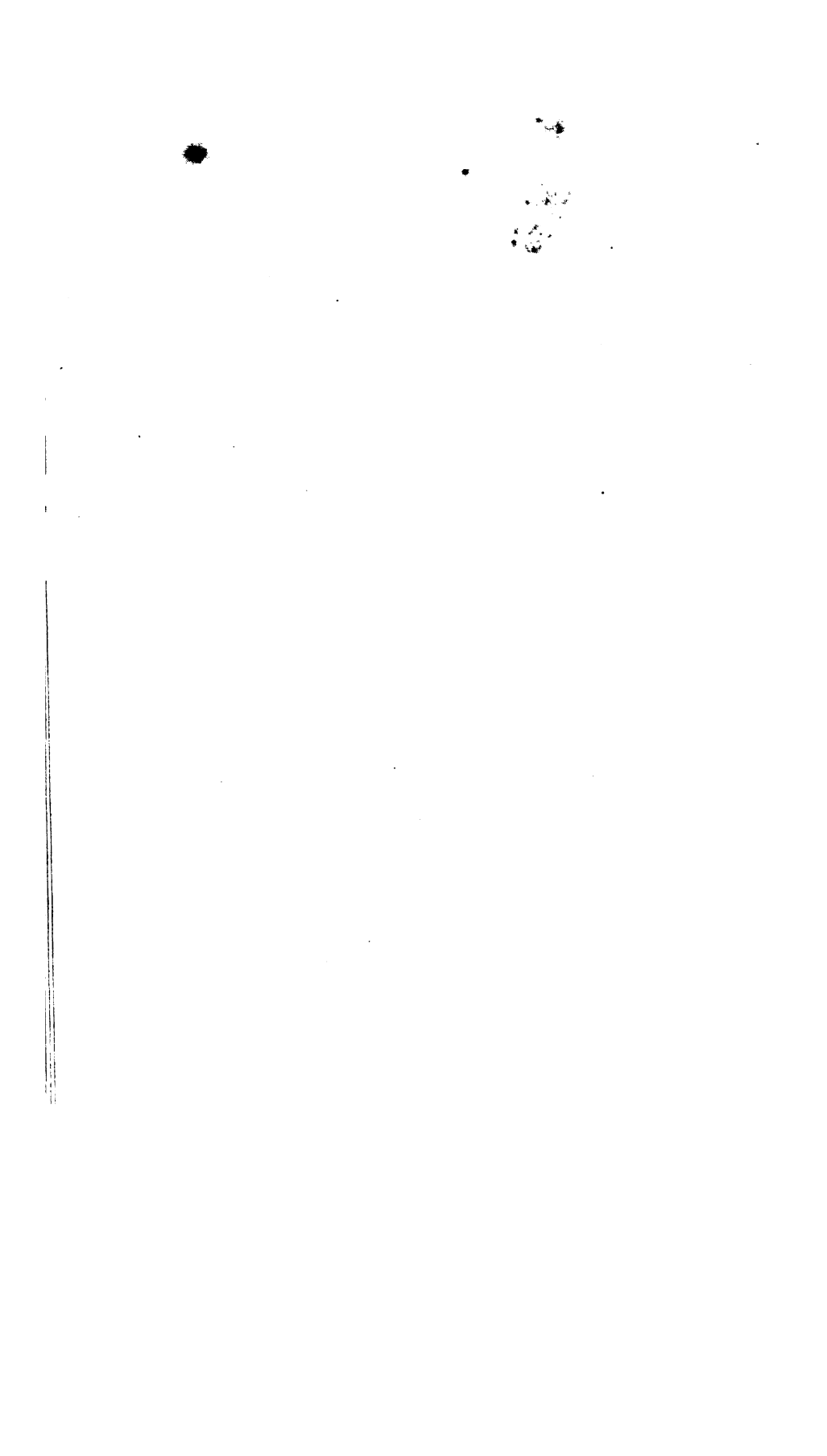
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TO
DR. BERNHARD KÖHNE,
THIS
OUR SEVENTEENTH VOLUME
IS
INSCRIBED.



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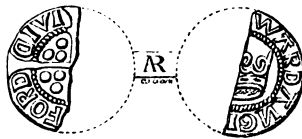
ERRATA.

Page 140, line 11, <i>for table, read title.</i>	
„ 137, „ 4, <i>for Ctesias, read Plutarch.</i>	
„ 137, „ 4, <i>for Αρσικα, read Αρσικας.</i>	
„ 146, „ 3 from end, } <i>for Mr. Layard, read M. Lajard.</i>	
„ 151, „ 15 and 16, }	
„ 155, „ 3, and note 22, }	
„ 164, „ 5. The first coin should be the last, and <i>vice versa</i> .	



NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.



UNIQUE AND UNPUBLISHED CROWN-PENNY OF
EDWARD IV., MINTED IN WATERFORD.

DEAR SIR,

My present communication is one composed of good fortune and misfortune! It is my good fortune to be able to communicate a notice of a coin, hitherto unknown to numismatists as existing, save and except in the pages of a Parliamentary Statute, preserved in the Rolls Office. It is my misfortune, only to be able to afford a fragment of that coin, as it has been evidently cut, and divided into two equal portions, as previous reigns and centuries shew us was the prevailing custom, for the purpose of a smaller circulation as a halfpenny.

The coin, of which I send you a faithful drawing, is that
VOL. XVII. B

known as, and termed, the Crown-penny of Edward IV., of the mint of Waterford: having an inscription on both the obverse and reverse; and of which, no specimen, save this unique and valuable little fragment, has been hitherto known to exist.

The obverse reads, WARD—ANG, with a small portion of the succeeding letter, L. The reverse, FORD—CIVI.

The Statute, ordering the mintage and issue of this very coin, together also with that of the groat and half-groat is known and in existence, preserved in the Rolls Office, in Dublin, but with the exception of the groat, of which, one specimen is known, and which has been given and engraved by Dr. Aquilla Smith, of Dublin, in his very excellent and highly-esteemed essay on "The Irish coins of Edward IV.," no coin of this particular mintage was previously known. The weight of this fragment is $4\frac{3}{4}$ grains: I have possessed it for some years; but, hoping that Doctor Aquilla Smith might have been able to have published his once-contemplated continuance of the Irish coinage, and for which, he had taken a drawing of this very coin, I have hitherto refrained from sending you any notice of it. Hearing, and finding, however, that Doctor Aquilla Smith's professional pursuits and avocations will prevent such a contemplated purpose from being brought into effect, a loss, which all true numismatists must much greatly and sincerely regret, I have thought it only right and desirable to send a notice of it for publication, in the Numismatic Chronicle, and for the benefit of those interested in Irish Numismatics.

Its discovery may indulge, and leads us to the hope, that many other coins, known only, as yet, in the records of a Parliamentary Roll, may ere long be brought forward, and come to light, to assist and benefit the numismatist and historian, which the increasing means of inter-commu-

nication, and the various facilities, experienced by the advancing good sense, spirit, and true taste of the present age and generation, so amply and abundantly afford.

Believe me to remain, Dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

EDWARD HOARE.

Cork, *December 15th*, 1853.

To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.

II.

COINS OF THE VANDALS IN AFRICA.

MINTED DURING THE PERIOD A.D. 439—534.

GENSERIC. First king. A.D. 429—477.

Succeeded his brother Gonderic in Spain in 428.—Invited to Africa by Bonifacius, the Roman consul of that province, in 429.—Conquered Mauretania, Numidia, and part of Carthaginiensis, which were finally secured to him by virtue of a treaty with the Emperor Valentinian III., in 435.—Captured Carthage, which he made the capital of his dominions, in 439.—Took possession of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic Islands, and the remaining portion of Roman Africa, 439-54.—Invited to Italy by the Empress Eudocia to revenge the murder of her husband, Valentinian III., he landed at Ostia, and proceeding to Rome, attacked and plundered the eternal city itself for fourteen days and nights, and destroyed Capua, Nola, and Naples, in 455.—Destroyed the fleet of the Emperor Majorian in the bay of Carthage, in 457—that of the Emperor Leo, off Bona, in 468—and, after having secured all his conquests by a treaty with Zeno, the successor of Leo, died in 477.

It is to the researches of Baron Marchant, MM. Friedlaender, Falbe, etc., that we are indebted for the knowledge of the existence of coins which may be satisfactorily attributed to Genseric. Mionnet's list of the money of the

Vandal kings commences with Gunthamund, who began to reign in 484; but it is now presumed that we possess numismatic monuments of his predecessors, Genseric and Huneric, the only two monarchs whose money did not appear in the series; the coins of Genseric, however, do not bear his name, and, according to the present state of our knowledge, exist only in copper: the following are their types.

I.

Obv.—The epigraph KARTHAGO. around the full length figure of a warrior (probably of Genseric himself), standing full face, and leaning on a long sceptre with the extended left hand,

Rev.—The caparisoned bust of a horse (the ancient device of Carthage), and on a broad exergue the numerals XLII., *diam.* $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch; or XXI., *diam.* $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch; or XII., *diam.* $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch.

II.

Obv.—Within a broad wreath, a draped female figure (the genius, or personification of the city of Carthage) standing full face, the hair long and scattered, and holding three ears of corn in each extended hand.

Rev.—The initial and numerals N.XLII, *diam.* 1 inch; or N.XXI, *diam.* $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch; or N.XII, *diam.* $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch; always within a wreath similar to that on the obverse. To this group also belong others with the letter and numerals N.IIII. in two lines without the wreath; but these bear on the obverse a nude bust (probably of Genseric), with a large branch of palm before it (the symbol of Victory, *diam.* $\frac{7}{16}$ of an inch).

III.

1. *Obv.*—The bust of Genseric (?), draped and looking to the right, and, on either side, a small cross.

Rev.—The bust of a horse to right, *diam.* $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch

2. *Obv.*—The bust of a horse to right.

Rev.—A palm tree, *diam.* $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch.

The unit to which the numerals XLII, XXI, XII, and IIII, respectively refer is, probably, the *milliarensis*, a denomination first introduced by Constantine the Great, for the purpose of denoting the thousandth part of the "*numus argenteus*," or *denarius* of the period. Forty-two of these *milliarenses* were equal in value to the "*follis*" of the lower empire, a copper coin similar in dimensions, but lighter in weight, and consequently thinner, than the *dupondius*, or half-*sestertius*, of an earlier period, the second brass of the numismatist.

That the figure on the obverse of the coins of the second group is intended for the genius of Carthage is satisfactorily attested by the reproduction of the same type, with the same attributes, on silver *quinarii*, bearing the name and effigy of Hilderic, and accompanied by the epigraph *FELIX.CARTHA*. The small coins, which offer a new denomination, namely, the piece of four *milliarenses*, were added to the series by M. La Mare, an intelligent French numismatist, long resident in Algeria, who obtained several specimens from hoards discovered at Philippeville, and at Guelma, in 1843; and with these were found many of the small copper coins of Hilderic, of which, previously to that discovery, only one specimen appears to have been known.

Of the group No. III., the coins No. 1, on account of their fabric, and the presence of the horse's head as the symbol of Carthage, although anepigraphic, appear to justify their appropriation to Genseric; but those described under No. 2, may, even for the same reasons, probably rather belong to the Punic than the Vandalic period of Carthaginian history; for, as is observed by M. Victor Langlois in his excellent annotations upon the 16th numismatic letter of Baron Marchant (edit. 1851), the types on both sides, are

precisely identical with the well known gold pieces of about the same module, and which incontestably belong to the earlier of the two periods in question.

The learned Münter was the first to publish and to assign to Genseric some copper coins of rude fabric (diam. $1\frac{1}{8}$), bearing on one side a winged figure, and on the other a barbarous inscription, which he rendered GENSER.AVGVS, a title not unlikely to have been assumed by the conqueror of Rome and Carthage, and the founder of an extensive empire; and this attribution is followed by M. Lelewel, who has given an engraving of one of these coins in his first plate (fig. 1). M. Friedlaender, however, disapproves of Münter's version of the inscription, and does not include it in his "Münzen der Vandalen"; and we now know, on the authority of M. Langlois, that specimens of these rude pieces have been met with struck upon coins of Nicephorus Phocas, emperor of the East from 963 to 969.

HUNERIC. Second king. A.D. 477—484.

Succeeded his father Genseric, in 477, and died in 484, when he was succeeded by his nephew, Gunthamund.—Huneric was married to Eudocia, the daughter of Valentinian III., at whose court he is said to have once been a hostage.—To this monarch are now attributed the following silver quinarii.

I.

Obv.—A diademed bust looking to the left, with the epigraph HONORI'VS. ACT.

Rev.—The full-faced effigy of the personification of the city of Carthage (as on the copper money of Genseric), with the legend ANNO.IIIII. or ANNO.V.; on the exergue is a star between two branches, and in the field T, sometimes with a cross over it; diam. $\frac{9}{16}$ of an inch.

The Baron Marchant considered these pieces to be of Vandal origin, but assigned them to Genseric. It is on the authority of Friedlaender, that they are here restored to his

successor ; both the regnal years recorded on these quinarii, or half-denarii, are suitable to the reign of Huneric, although the same remark applies to that of Honorius, who reigned from 395 to 423, but as we meet with the same type on the money of Genseric, and also on that of Hilderic, and never on pieces of decidedly Roman fabric, but only of the class by Lelewel, denominated semi-Roman, it is safe to conclude that they were minted at Carthage ; and if so, then at the period when that city was the capital of the new Vandal empire, namely, between 439 and 534.

Assuming that the legend on the obverse of these coins really records the name of the emperor Honorius, it is a well attested historical fact, that the barbarous nations who ultimately overran the Western empire, were permitted by the emperors to use their name and effigy on their local money, and as this permission was probably granted by Honorius to Godigesilus, the first Vandal chief on record, and who was slain in a great battle with the Franci in Gaul in 406, they were probably retained on the money of his successors, in gratitude for, or in commemoration of, the source from which the privilege was derived, but that the epigraph in question really has reference to Honorius, I am somewhat inclined to suspect. It will be observed, that the legend offers the peculiarity of a comma, or mark of elision, between the letters I and V ; now, by supplying between them the letter C, it is not a little remarkable that the name would then stand HONORICVS, which possibly may be the correct orthographical form for the Huneric, or Hunneric of Procopius, and this more especially, as it does not necessarily follow that the letters ACT. are the truncated form of the title of Augustus.

GUNTHAMUND. Third king. A.D. 484—496.

Succeeded his uncle Huneric, to the prejudice of the sons of that monarch, as the eldest heir male, pursuant to the will of Genseric, in 484, and died in 496, when he was succeeded by his cousin Thrasimund.—Gunthamund was the son of Gesno, the younger brother of Huneric.—Of this monarch there exists a complete series of silver coins, of the respective value of the denarius, the quinarius, and the quarter denarius; of these the following are the types.

I.

Obv.—DN.REX (or RX or RC) GVNTHAMVND (or VTHA, GVTHA, GVNTHA, or GVNTA-MVNDV), around the diademed bust of the king, looking to the right.

Rev.—The letters and numerals DNC. in two lines, *diam.* $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch; or DN. in one, or DN—L. in two lines, *diam.* $\frac{9}{16}$ of an inch; or DN—XXV. in two lines, always within a wreath (and in that particular offer a strong analogy to the money assigned to Genseric), *diam.* $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch.

These pieces not only for the first time present the name and titles (Dominus noster Rex) of the Vandal monarch, but they are evidently adjusted to a standard differing from that in use under his predecessors. In order to account for the letters and numerals inscribed on the reverse of these coins, it may be presumed that Gunthamund reformed the monetary system, and that the value of the new denarius was fixed at 100 pieces of the copper currency of the day; this assumed, the letters DN. are evidently the initials of the words "denarius novus," the numeral C. denoting the value of an entire denarius, the L. for 50, and the XXV. of course representing respectively the half and the quarter of the first, and agreeing with the quinarius and the sestertius of the Romans; and this system, it will be seen, prevailed down to the final overthrow of the Vandal domination by Belisarius in 534.

THRASIMUND. Fourth king. A.D. 496—524.

Succeeded Gunthamund in 496, and died in 524, when he was succeeded by Hilderic.—The money of Thrasimund is adjusted to the same standard as that of his predecessor; the denarius, however, has not yet been discovered, but the half and quarter denarius are both known.

I.

1. *Obv.*—DN. RG. THRASAMVDS (or THASAMVND, TRSAMVNS, TRASAMVDV, TASAMVNS, or SAMVS); diademed bust to right.

Rev.—DN. in one, or DN—L. in two lines, *diam.* $\frac{2}{5}$ of an inch; or DN.XXV. in two lines, all in a wreath, *diam.* $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch.

2. *Obv.*—DNRI.... SAMVND., a full faced bust.

Rev.—The numerals XXV. only, and within a circle instead of a wreath, *diam.* $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch.

Like the half denarii of Gunthamund, it will be seen that some varieties of those of Thrasimund are inscribed with the letters D.N. without the numeral L.; their weight, however, proves that they are of the same value; and all agree in that respect with the money of Huneric and of Hilderic, with the type of the genius of Carthage, on which the value or denomination is also unnoticed.

Marchant, in his first edition, cites the variety, No. 2, as existing in the cabinet of M. Rhule, and gives an engraving of it (plate xvi. fig. 8); but in a communication to M. Friedlaender, he observes, "I have cited the Thrasimund from memory; and the figure given of it was engraved from an analogous gold coin of the lower empire;" so that his figure, as well as that of M. Lelewel (plate i. fig. 5) must be consulted with caution.

HILDERIC. Fifth king. A.D. 524—530.

Hilderic, the son of Huneric, succeeded Thrasimund in 524, and was deposed and put to death by his kinsman, Gelimer, in 530.—Of Hilderic we have half and quarter denarii, with and without his name, and also some small copper coins; of these the following are the types.

I.

1. *Obv.*—DN.HILDRIX. (or HILDERIX, or HILDIRIX)
 REX, or, on others, D. N. IVSTINVS. PP. A.
 around the diademed bust of Hilderic.

Rev. 1.—The genius of Carthage (as on the coins of Genseric and Huneric), with the epigraph FELIX.
 CARTHIA (or CART, CARTA, or KARTQ),
 silver, *diam.* $\frac{9}{16}$ of an inch.

Rev. 2.—The numerals XXV. within a wreath. Silver,
diam. $\frac{7}{16}$ of an inch.

2. *Obv.*—HILD...., diademed bust of Hilderic.

Rev.—A cross within a wreath. Copper, *diam.* $\frac{5}{16}$ of an inch.

Those varieties of the silver money which bear the name of the emperor Justin I, with the title of "Perpetuus Augustus," are, by M. Friedlaender, in his excellent work, entitled "Die Münzen der Vandalen," intercalated between the reigns of Hilderic and his successor, Gelimer. I have, however, ventured to assign them to the former for these reasons. We have already seen that the half denarii, with the name and title of Honorius, now assigned to Huneric, bear precisely the same type: in the proper place, I have attempted to account for that epigraph, by assuming that it probably had reference to some particular monetary compact with that particular emperor; and the presence of those of one of his successors on the money of one of the successors of Huneric, may probably be capable of being traced to a similar cause.

We learn from Procopius, that Hilderic, by the toleration and lenity which he exercised towards the Catholics of his dominions, who had experienced only one continued savage persecution under the rule of his predecessors, completely won the favour and affection of Justinian, and that this emperor formed an alliance with him, and revenged his death on his murderer and successor Gelimer, who was

captured by Belisarius in 534; but however unattested by the historian, it is not improbable that this alliance might have *originated* with Justin, the immediate predecessor of Justinian, with both of whom Hilderic reigned contemporaneously.

When Friedlaender published his valuable work on this class of coins, the small copper coin with the cross for type was considered to be unique; but, as has been already observed under Genseric, many specimens are now known, principally from the hoard discovered at Guelma in Algeria in 1843.

GELIMER. Sixth and last king. A.D. 530—534.

Succeeded, by the deposition and death of Hilderic, in 530.—

Defeated at the battles of Carthage and Bulla, and finally taken prisoner by Belisarius, the general of Justinian, in 534.—Gelimer, who was the son of Gelaris, the brother of Gunthamund, on his arrival at Constantinople, was kindly treated by the emperor, and finally died on an estate which was granted to him in Galatia.—Of the money of Gelimer, we possess specimens in silver of the half-denarius, and in copper of an unknown denomination, namely—

I.

1. *Obv.*—DN.REX.GEILAMIR (or DN.RX.G.....LIMA) around the diademed bust of the king.

Rev.—D.N. in one, or +—DN—L., in three lines, within a wreath. Silver, *diam.* $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch.

2. *Obv.*—GEILAMR around the same bust.

Rev.—A monogram (as then in use on the money of the Ostrogoths in Italy). Copper, *diam.* $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch.

The silver money of Gelimer is adjusted to the same standard, and of the same value and denomination as that of his predecessors. Of the small copper coin, if minted by Gelimer, it may be observed, that the introduction of the Ostrogothic monogram may possibly denote an alliance with Athalaric, who reigned in Italy from 526 to 534, and

therefore contemporaneously with the last of the Vandal monarchs.

Cf. Banduri, Numismata Imp. Rom; *Caronni*, Ragguaglio di alcun monumenti di Antichità; *Du Cange*, Famil. Byz.; *Eckhel*, Doctr. Numor. Veter., vol. iv.; *Falbe*, Recherches sur l'emplacement di Carthage; *Friedlaender*, Die Münzen der Vandalen; *Grote*, Journal de Num. de Hanovre, vol. ii.; *Lagoy*, Med. à monogr. des Rois Goths d'Italie; *Langlois*, Annotations de la lettre seizieme de M. le Baron Marchant; also his communication to the Revue Archaeologique for 1849; *Lelewel*, Num. du Moyen Age; *Lipsius*, Biblioth. Numaria; *Marchant*, Lettres sur la Numismatique et l'Histoire; *Mionnet*, Med. Grecques, vol. vi. (s. v. Carthago), also Med. Rom. (Rois Vandales); *Münter*, Archiv. der Gesellschaft für altere deutsch Geschichtskunde; *Patin*, Introd. à la Connais. des Medailles; *Ramus*, Museum Reg. Daniæ; *Sestini*, Mus. Hederv. Continuation, p. 80; *Spanheim*, De Usu et Praestantia Numor. Vet.; *Tarragona* (Bishop of), Dialogos de las Medallas; also *Destinata Literaria et Fragmenta Lusatica*, &c., Lubben, 1738, et seq.; Proceedings of the Archaeological and Numismatic Society of St. Petersburg, vol. vii.; and the Museum Skandinavisk Kjobenh, published in 1800.

MAXIMILIAN BORRELL.

8, Cumming Street, Pentonville, London.

III.

ON SOME GOLD COINS OF SYRACUSE.

[Read before the Numismatic Society.]

ATHENS, from its literary celebrity, is justly styled "the eye of Greece"; but in all that regards the perfection of numismatic art, Syracuse is undoubtedly the first of cities. The series of her coins may aptly be compared to a golden

chain, every link of which is precious; and therefore any observations tending to illustrate even one of the smallest of them will, I hope, be received with indulgence.

The pieces to which I would call the attention of your readers are now sufficiently common, though at the beginning of this century they seem to have been almost unknown. On the obverse they bear the head of Hercules; on the reverse, a female head in a circle, which is itself enclosed in an indented quadripartite square. Legend on one or both sides, ΣΤΡΑ. They are of gold, size 2, weight nearly 18 grains; engraved in Mionnet, Tab. 47, Nos. 2 and 4.

These coins appear to me to deserve more attention than they have hitherto received. A mere description of their type would undoubtedly lead to the opinion that they were struck in remote antiquity; but it certainly does seem strange that Mionnet, supposing him to have seen the coins themselves before the publication of his first volume, should describe their fabric as ancient. Millingen, however, as appears from a cursory note in his *Sylloge*, perceived the discordance between the type and the style of its execution, but is not disposed to assign to the coins that chronological place in the gold series to which I think they have a presumptive claim, namely, the first.

The opinion here advanced, being novel, requires proof; and this proof I would deduce from the reverse type, which exactly accords, in all but fabric, with the oldest known silver coin of Syracuse, figured in Hunter, Tab. 52, No. 11, and Mionnet, Pl. 47, No. 1. Now, in commencing a new series in a new metal, there is nothing extraordinary if, in veneration of antiquity, the Syracusans impressed on their earliest gold the type which had been borne by their earliest silver. But if we suppose, with Millingen, that other

gold had been struck before this, the recurrence to an antiquated type seems inexplicable. By parity of reason, I should place the copper coin, figured in Mionnet, Pl. xlvii. No. 3, as the earliest struck in that metal.

In all sciences, isolated facts, however unimportant or unconnected they may at first appear, often turn out to be stepping-stones to others. Thus, if we argue that the gold coins in question are the earliest because they resemble the oldest known silver, we may conversely infer, that when those gold coins were struck, the Syracusans knew no popular or extensive silver currency older than we do, or, in other words, that if the hopes which have been entertained of hereafter discovering silver coins of that city with the rude indented square are ever realized, the specimens found will probably be very few.

It would be interesting to fix, if we were able, the precise time when this first gold currency issued from the Syracusan mint. To ascertain the date of a known coin, is at least as important as the discovery of a new type. But chronological questions regarding civic coins are beset with difficulties; and conjecture must generally supply the place of proof. It is this defect which detracts so much from the merit of the Greek series. Lovers of art may be enraptured with its beauty; but the historian experiences disappointment and regret.

Perhaps, however, in the present case there may be glimmerings of light sufficient to conduct us at least some distance on our way. The age of the Syracusan medallions has, I think, been correctly approximated by Col. Leake, from whose arguments (see the transactions of the Royal Society of Literature) we may infer that they were struck between B.C. 400 and 360. Now the initials of two of the engravers of the medallions (*KI* and *ET*) are found upon

the gold coins, having a reticulated female head on one side, and Hercules strangling the lion on the other. Besides this, the obverse of these coins greatly resembles, both in type and fabric, those medallions which bear the name of *KIMON*. Therefore we may consider them as synchronous. But that these gold coins, and the smaller ones now under discussion, are not far removed from each other, may be inferred both from their fabric and from the similarity of their types. The minute female head on the smaller ones is reticulated as on the obverse of the larger ones, while Hercules appears on the other side. I should, therefore, place the first issue of the smaller coins, and also of their halves (*obverse*, head of Minerva; *reverse*, wheel in an indented quadripartite square), of which a specimen exists in the Museum, between B.C. 405 and 390, when the victories of Dionysius had enriched Syracuse with the plunder of Naxos and other important cities. Immediately after this first issue, I place the larger ones before alluded to, and their halves, having a bare youthful male head on one side, and a horse in an indented square on the other. I may here remark, that on a specimen I have of the Hercules and lion coin, the legend reads *O*, not *Ω*. This is the more interesting as it is one of those engraved by Kimon, who seems, on his medallions, always to have employed the long vowels.

But what are we to say as to the weight of the small first issued coins? Eighteen grains are neither any fraction of the Attic drachma, nor any conceivable multiple of the Syracusan litra; and I have never been able to obtain from any numismatist, even a suggestion hazarded on this difficult point. Some indeed, as Eckhel, disregard weights, either because of their supposed irregularity, or because of our ignorance of the subject. Only the other day I

received a letter from one of the first numismatists in Italy, saying, that he became constantly more and more convinced of the futility of the enquiry. (*Sia sempre regola generale chè il seguire i pesi è molto fallace, come ogni giorno mi vado persuadendo sempre più; noi abbiamo delle notizie incomplete, et non possiamo entrare nelle moltissime particolarità, ignote del tutto.*) But with all deference to such authorities, I must say, that my own experience has led me to the very reverse conclusion; and if the learned Eckhel had appealed to the scales, he might have found in them a proof that the coins of Gelo are not coeval with that king, quite as convincing as any of the acute and learned arguments which fill five quarto pages of his invaluable *Doctrina*. But I by no means wish to intimate that the following observations should be regarded as any evidence of the utility of studying weights.

The problem is how to reconcile 18 grains to the Attic standard. And having first suggested that these small coins were intended to form the monetary unit for the new gold currency, I propose to solve the problem by pointing out the hitherto unnoticed fact, that as the *litra* (the silver unit) is to the *drachma*, so are the small gold coins to the larger ones with *Hercules* and the *lion*. For as $1 : 5 :: 13\cdot3 : 66\cdot5 :: 18 : 90$ exactly. The latter pieces weigh just 8 Attic oboli, and therefore an even number of them, viz. 4,500, and consequently an even number of the smaller pieces also, were coined out of the Attic talent. Thus the coinage, both of gold and silver, is reduced to the same ultimate standard.

If the above views be not adopted, and if either the *litra* or the *drachma* is to be considered, as heretofore, the foundation of the gold currency, the prevalence in early times of a gold octobolus, to the absolute exclusion both of

litra and the drachma, seems inexplicable. But if, in accordance with the preceding suggestion, we view the octobolus as a simple multiple of a recognised unit, we not only cease to wonder at its having been adopted in the first instance, but shall be able to account for the fact, that Agathocles, a century after its first issue, and long after the gold didrachmas of Philip had become the general currency of the world, continued to strike in gold no other weight. As we learn from Diodorus that Agathocles prided himself in being on all respects equal to the generals of Alexander, it is possible that national vanity may have assisted in preventing his assimilating his gold coinage to theirs, as after his death the change was made by Hicetas, his immediate successor. The above argument is not invalidated by the concession, that some of the Syracusan gold, which is adjusted to the drachma, may possibly have been struck before Agathocles, for the question only returns still more forcibly, why the latter should, after the lapse of so many years, have revived so singular a weight.

Perhaps it will be asked, what motive the Syracusans could have had in originally adopting a different unit for their gold and silver currency. I would suggest, and it is a mere suggestion, that it might have been done in order to facilitate the exchange of the two metals. We know from Herodotus, that, in his time, the ratio between them was 13 to 1. In the time of Socrates, *before* B.C. 400, gold had fallen in Athens to 12, and finally became as low as 10, which indeed was its value in Asia as early as the time of Xenophon. Now in this falling market, it is not impossible that in Syracuse, suddenly enriched with the spoils of neighbouring conquered cities, it might, about B.C. 400, have already fallen to 11. If so, 11×18 or

18·1=198 or 199 grains, just the weight of three silver drachmas, for which the small gold coins may have exchanged, while the octobolus would have passed for 15 drachmas, or a medallion and a half.

G. SPARKES.

Bromley, in Kent.

IV.

ON A METHOD OF CASTING COINS IN USE AMONG THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

AT our meeting in December last, Mr. Fairholt exhibited some specimens of early Celtic coins, and gave an account of their discovery near Birchington, in the Isle of Thanet, which has since been published in the Numismatic Chronicle.¹ My object in again calling attention to them, is to put on record a fact concerning the method by which these coins, and probably many others of the same class, were produced, that has, I believe, hitherto escaped notice.

It was observed by Mr. Fairholt, that they had all been cast and not struck; and those who examined them will probably remember a peculiar striated appearance extending over the whole field on both sides of the coins. How to account for this grained appearance is not at first sight obvious; but on close examination, I think I cannot err in pronouncing it to have been caused by the coins having been cast in wooden moulds, the grain of which is still apparent on their face. Nothing could be more simple than this

¹ Vol. XVI. p. 133.

method of production. Two pieces of wood being hinged or dowed together, a coin of the required size and type, but of some less fusible metal than tin, would be made red-hot, and placed between them, and on their being pressed together, a mould would be burnt in, capable of producing a large number of casts in tin, or a mixed metal, the wood when charred being able to resist the effects of a moderate degree of heat for a lengthened period. The pattern coin would not at a single heat be capable of burning in a mould of sufficient depth to produce a cast of equal thickness with itself; and this will account for the tenuity of the cast coins.

In order more fully to prove the correctness of this theory, I constructed a mould of two pieces of oak, and treated it in the manner described, except that an old silver groschen was the pattern coin, the device of which I erased, and then burnt in the profile and horse with a red-hot skewer. From the mould thus produced I made a number of casts in tin, containing a slight admixture of copper. Some of these, together with the mould, I now lay before this Society; and you will find them show very much the same grained appearance as the Birchington coins, though in a higher degree.

There can then be but little doubt that this class of coins was cast in wooden moulds; and from the ease with which they could be fabricated, we can hardly regard them as forming part of an authorized currency, struck by royal or quasi-royal sanction, but rather as springing, like the tokens of a later age, from the inconvenience arising to the people from a want of "necessary chaing."

JOHN EVANS.

V.

COIN PEDIGREES—No. 2.

MY DEAR SIR,

AS you gave insertion to my former paper on this subject, I send you a second and probably final set of notes. The coins of which I have attempted to give some sort of history are, in this case also, of high estimation, not only for rarity, but on account of the associations connected with them. They are—

The Crown Piece struck by Charles I. at Oxford in the year 1644, which has a view of the city under the horse, and is termed, by pre-eminence, “The Oxford Crown;” and

The pattern pieces for a Half-crown, Shilling, and Sixpence of the Commonwealth, executed by David Ramage, in the year 1651, in competition with Peter Blondeau.

Yours very truly,

J. B. BERGNE.

19, Hans Place, London,
April, 1854.

THE OXFORD CROWN.

Snelling, *Silver Coinage*, Pl. xii. No. 10; Ruding, Pl. xxiv. No. 1.

There is also a well-executed wood-cut of it in Ingram's *Memorials of Oxford*, vol. ii., taken from the specimen preserved at the Bodleian Library.

This coin is the work of Thomas Rawlins, an excellent artist, but very inferior to Simon. Some interesting particulars respecting him will be found in a paper by Mr. Nightingale, at page 123 of Vol. IV. of the *Numismatic*

Chronicle. I am not aware that any coins can be identified as his workmanship except the crown in question, and one or two other pieces of smaller denomination struck by Charles I. at Oxford, which bear the initial of his name.

The Oxford Crown is executed with much neatness and spirit. The type is the usual one of the king on horseback. The horse is represented at a gentle amble or trot. Underneath is the word OXON, with a view of the city of Oxford, taken on the north side, outside of the then entrenchments. Magdalen Tower, and the spires of the Cathedral and of St. Mary's, are conspicuous objects. In a well-preserved specimen the drawbridge across the ditch, and the letter R, the initial of the artist's name (omitted in all the representations of the coin above referred to), are also very clearly visible. The mint mark is not accurately represented by Snelling or Ruding. It is a pellet with four flowers springing from it, and it occurs also on a groat of the same date.

The reverse resembles in type the ordinary crowns struck at Oxford, but is ornamented and much better executed. Above and below the inscription, RELIG. PROT. LEG. ANG. LIBER. PARL., are scrolls adorned with leaves and flowers, and underneath is the date of the year and place, 1644—OXON.

It is difficult to account for the great rarity of this coin. The workmanship and general appearance are indeed so superior to those of other coins of the period, that it would probably have been hoarded, like the mediæval crown of her present Majesty. It does not, however, bear the look of a pattern piece; and it was in all probability intended for ordinary circulation. It is somewhat singular that no specimen, so far as my observation has extended, has the whole of the outer legend fully struck up. About ten or eleven specimens are known.

LIST OF SPECIMENS OF THE OXFORD CROWN.

- No.
 1. British Museum.
 2. Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 3. Royal Mint.
 4. Bank of England.
 5. Rev. Edward J. Shepherd (Luddesdown, Gravesend).
 6. John Alfred Wigan (Clare House, East Malling).
 7. Lord Hastings.
 8. William Brice (Clifton Grove, Bristol).
 9. Jonathan Rashleigh (Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park).
 10. Rev. John Ward (Rector of Wath, in Yorkshire).
 11. Said to have been in the possession of a lady, a friend of Dr. Disney, Hollis' Executor.
-

HISTORY OF EACH SPECIMEN.

No. 1.

Thomas Grainger. Bought at his sale in 1766, for £11 : 16, by
 Joseph Browne. do. 1791, for £24 : 15, by
 Rev. Richard Southgate.
British Museum.

(Fine.)

How this coin came from Southgate's cabinet to the British Museum is not known. Tyssen purchased Southgate's whole collection; and he may have sold or presented it to the Museum. It does not occur in the Sale Catalogue of Southgate's coins, printed before Tyssen bought them.

No. 2.

Browne Willis. Bequeathed by him to the
Bodleian Library, Oxford.

(Said to be in fine condition. Engraved from the coin itself in "Ingram's Memorials of Oxford," vol. ii., under "New Inn Hall.")

No. 3.

Mark Cephas Tutet. Bought at his sale in 1786, for £32 : 11, by Samuel Tyssen. Said to have been sold by him on getting
 No. 5, to

David Alves Rebello.

Barré C. Roberts. His collection was purchased by the British Museum; and this piece was sold among their duplicates in 1811, for £20:10, to

Miss Banks. Bequeathed by her to the
Royal Mint.

(In good condition.)

No. 4.

Robert Austen, whose collection was purchased in 1812, under an Act of Parliament, by
The Bank of England.

No. 5.

Benjamin Bartlett. Bought at his sale in 1787, for £26:10, by Edward Hodsol; whose collection was purchased by Samuel Tyssen. Bought at his sale in 1802, for £14:14, by Colonel Durrant. do. 1847, for £56, by
The Rev. Edward John Shepherd.

(Fine.)

No. 6.

Thomas Lee Dummer. Bought at his sale in 1785, for £21:10, by G. Hollington Barker. do. 1803, for £16:5, by Thomas Dimsdale. do. 1824, for £69, by W. Simonds Higgs. do. 1830, for £36:15, by Thomas Thomas. do. 1844, for £37:10, by
John Alfred Wigan.

(The field has been tooled.)

No. 7.

Presented by Charles I. to Major-General Sir Jacob Astley, ancestor of *Lord Hastings.*

(Said to be in good condition.)

No. 8.

William Brice. Purchased by him in 1853, having newly turned up.

(Fine.)

No. 9.

Thomas Dimsdale. Bought at his sale in 1824, for £12, by Jones Long. do. 1842, for £11, by John A. Wigan. Sold by him on obtaining No. 6. to

The Rev. Edward J. Shepherd ; and by him to Sir Henry Russell, Bart. Bought at his sale in 1850, for £20, by *Jonathan Rashleigh*.

(In indifferent condition.)

No. 10.

Rev. John Ward. Has been long in his family.

(In middling condition.)

No. 11.

Nothing known of this specimen. Possibly it may be the same as No. 8.

A specimen occurs in a sale, March 26, 1776, of coins stated to belong to "a Gentleman in Norfolk," but said in a MS. note in some copies to have really been the property of the notorious John White, of Newgate Street. It sold for £31 : 10.

RAMAGE'S PATTERNS FOR A HALF-CROWN, SHILLING AND SIXPENCE, OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

Snelling, *Pattern Pieces*, Pl. vi. Nos. 8, 9, 10 ; Ruding, Pl. xxxii. Nos. 1, 2, 3 ; Vertue's "*Works of Thomas Simon*," Pl. xiii. D.E.

These coins are not only of great rarity, but interesting from their being of the nature of trial, or rather competition pieces.

Soon after the establishment of the Commonwealth, the Government turned their attention to the state of the money, which, owing to the want of circularity in the pieces struck by hand, and to the absence of graining or inscription on the edge, was subject to great deterioration by clipping. Peter Blondeau, a French artist, who had acquired considerable reputation for a method of coining money of a neater and rounder form, was summoned to London to

make trial of his skill. The moneyers of the Mint, who represented that Blondeau could do nothing more than they themselves were capable of performing, and that the question was merely one of time and expense, were at the same time desired to make patterns, to be presented to the committee of the Mint, in competition with those prepared by Blondeau.

The result of these proceedings was the preparation of patterns or trial pieces from each party for a Half-crown, a Shilling, and a Sixpence. The orders of the committee also comprised a design for a Twenty-shilling piece in gold, but no specimen is known to exist, although it is stated that Blondeau actually delivered some.

Blondeau's patterns exactly resemble in type the ordinary money of the Commonwealth. The design afforded no scope for the talent of the artist; but they are so gracefully executed, that an opinion has been expressed that the celebrated Simon was employed upon them. A comparatively large number were struck, and they cannot be considered very scarce; but highly preserved specimens are of great rarity, especially of the Shilling, of which indeed I know of no other specimen in perfect condition besides the one in my own possession, which was formerly in the Pembroke cabinet. There are two varieties of the Half-crown, distinguished by the inscription on the edge. On one it is—

TRVTH · AND · PEACE · 1651 · PETRVS · BLONDÆVS ·
INVENTOR · FECIT. A palm branch after 1651 and FECIT.

On the other—

IN · THE · THIRD · YEARE · OF · FREEDOME · BY · GODS ·
BLESSING · RESTORED · 1651.

The latter is much the scarcest of the two. These pieces are so numerous that it would be both impossible and unin-

teresting to trace them. They are engraved in the three works mentioned at the head of this paper.

The patterns by Ramage are of much greater rarity. It is said that only twelve of each sort were struck, and of these only about eight are known to exist. The workmanship is inferior to that of Blondeau's pieces. The Half-crown and Shilling are of equal diameter, differing only in thickness. One side (I presume it should be called the reverse) varies in type from the circulating coin of the period. It is evidently copied from the angelet or half-salute of Henry VI. (Ainslie, Pl. 1, No. 12), and presents a very Dutch-built angel supporting two shields, which are charged respectively with St. George's cross and the Irish harp. The legend is GAVRDED · WITH · ANGELES · 1651. The other side is like the ordinary Half-crown and Shilling, but of neater work. On the edge of the Half-crown is TRVTH*AND*PEACE*1651*. Mint-mark on each side, a star or mullet of five points, which also separates the words inscribed on the edge. The edge of the Shilling is in some specimens quite plain, in others slightly milled. It is commonly stated, that these two pieces were struck from the same dies. The obverse of the Half-crown and Shilling in my own cabinet (that is, the side which bears the single shield), is, however, certainly from a different die in each piece.

The pattern for Sixpence is as thick as the Half-crown, and bears on each side the legend TRVTH * AND * PEACE, which is repeated on the edge, with the addition of the date, 1651. On one side is a shield with St. George's cross; on the other, a shield with the Irish harp. One specimen has the edge filled with twenty-two stars or mullets, instead of the inscription. The legend, "Truth and Peace," was probably adopted from Scripture in the

spirit of the time, with reference to the recent change in the form of government.

2 Kings xxv. 19, "Is it not good if *peace and truth* be in my days?"

Zech. viii. 16, "Execute the judgment of *truth and peace* in your gates;" and again at ver. 19, "Therefore love the *truth and peace*."

Gough, in his edition of Vertue's "Works of Thomas Simon," (4to, 1780) page 77, gives a list of the specimens of Ramage's patterns, derived from information supplied to him by Tutet. It appears to be accurate, except that it makes no mention of the Shillings which Dr. Bandinel informs me are at the Bodleian, and states, as Snelling does also, that the Duke of Devonshire had the Half-crown, whereas on the sale of his collection in 1844, it proved to be the Shilling.

LIST OF SPECIMENS OF THE PATTERNS BY DAVID RAMAGE
FOR COINS OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

	Half-crown.	Shilling.	Sixpence.
British Museum	1	1	{ 1 2 3
Hunter Museum, Glasgow	2		
Bodleian Library, Oxford	3	{ 2 3	
The late Mr. Cuff of Clapham	4	4	4
Mr. Wigan (Clare House, East Mallory)	5	5	5
Mr. Bergne (Foreign Office)	6	6	6
The Rev. Edward J. Shepherd (Luddesdown)	7		
Mr. Brown (Paternoster Row)	8		
Mr. Brice (Clifton)		7	7
Mr. Sparkes (Bromley in Kent)			8
Offered to Mr. Cureton for purchase in 1853	9		
Sold in the Collection of W. S. Higgs, 1830		8	

HISTORY OF EACH SPECIMEN.

HALF-CROWNS.

No. 1.

Mark Cephas Tutet (previously Mr. Beachcroft's). Bought at Tutet's sale in 1786, for £20 : 10, by Edward Hodsol; whose collection was purchased by Samuel Tyssen. Sold by him as a duplicate. Barré C. Roberts; whose collection was purchased by *The British Museum*.

(In good condition, but not very fine. Weight, 289½ grs.)

No. 2.

Hunter Museum, Glasgow. I know not when or where this piece was purchased by Dr. Hunter.

(Very fine.)

No. 3.

Bodleian Library; probably from Browne Willis.

(Very fine.)

No. 4.

Pembroke collection. Bought at the sale in 1848, for £27 : 10, by The Rev. Edward J. Shepherd. Afterwards sold by him on getting No. 7, to The late *James Dodsley Cuff*.

(Very fine. Weight, 302 grains.)

No. 5.

Bryan Fairfax. Bought at his sale in 1751, with 10 other coins of the Commonwealth, for £2 : 5, by Martin Folkes. Bought at his sale in 1756, with the Shilling, No. 1, for £8 : 10, by Snelling, for Joseph Browne. Bought at his sale in 1791, for £21, by Samuel Tyssen. do. 1802, for £26 : 5, by Marmaduke Trattle. do. 1832, for £35, by Colonel Durrant. do. 1847, for £24 : 10, by *John Alfred Wigan*.

(Very fine. Weight, 271 grains.)

No. 6.

Benjamin Bartlett. Bought at his sale in 1787, for £30, by
 G. Hollington Barker. do. 1803, for £10 : 10, by
 Thomas Thomas. do. 1844, for £24, by
John B. Bergne.

(Fine. Weight, 305 grains.)

No. 7.

Earl of Pomfret; whose collection descended to
 Miss Hicks, and was purchased in 1849, by Mr. Cureton.
Rev. Edward John Shepherd.

(Extremely fine.)

No. 8.

Mr. Phare. Bought at his sale in 1834, for £17, by
 Sir John Twisden. do. for £17 : 10, by
 James Dodsley Cuff.
 Sir Henry Russell, Bart. Bought at his sale in 1850, for £20, by
Thomas Brown.

(In poor condition.)

No. 9.

In poor condition. I know not who is the owner. It was
 offered to Mr. Cureton by a dealer at Portsmouth.

SHILLINGS.

No. 1.

British Museum. Whence obtained I know not; but perhaps it
 is either the one sold in Tyssen's Duplicates in December,
 1802, for £9, or that in a sale of Coins, June 1, 1805,
 believed to be Duplicates from Barré Roberts' collection,
 for £1 : 19.

(In very good preservation; edge slightly milled.)

Nos. 2 and 3.

Bodleian Library, Oxford. One with the edge plain, the other
 with the edge milled.
 Probably from Browne Willis.

No. 4.

Thomas Grainger. Bought at his sale in 1766, for £7 : 17 : 6, by
 Thomas Hollis. do. 1817, for £22 : 1, by
 H. R. Willet; whose patterns were purchased by
 The late *James Dodsley Cuff*.

(Very fine.)

No. 5.

Duke of Devonshire. Bought at his sale in 1844, for £21, by
John Alfred Wigan.

(Very fine.)

No. 6.

Mark Cephas Tutet (previously Mr. Beachcroft's). Bought at his
 sale in 1786, for £23, by
 Samuel Tyssen. do. 1802, for £30 : 10, by
 Marmaduke Trattle. do. 1832, for £38, by
 Colonel Durrant. do. 1847, for £16 : 15, by
John B. Berne.

(In beautiful preservation.)

No. 7.

Purchased casually by Mr. Till, the dealer, and sold by him to
 George Marshall. Bought at his sale in 1852, for £20 : 10, by
William Brice.

(In tolerable condition.)

No. 8.

Martin Folkes. Bought at his sale in 1756, with the Half-
 Crown, No. 5, for £8 : 10, by Snelling, for
 Joseph Browne. Bought at his sale in 1791, for £8 : 18 : 6, and
 came afterwards into the possession of Barré Roberts,
 whose collection was purchased by
 British Museum. Included in their sale of Duplicates in 1811,
 and bought for £9 : 10, by
 Thomas Dimsdale. Bought at his sale in 1824, for £43, by
 W. Simonds Higgs. do. 1830, for £30, by
 Matthew Young, the dealer; and I know not where it now is.

The specimens of this pattern sold in Tyssen's Duplicate
 Sale in 1802, and in a collection at Sotheby's in June, 1805,
 I am unable to identify; but probably that in the British
 Museum is one or other of them.

SIXPENCES.

No. 1.

Thomas Grainger. Bought at his sale in 1766, for £4 : 7, by
 Joseph Browne. do. 1791, for £11 : 11, by
 Samuel Tyssen. do. 1802, for £21 : 10, by
 Barré C. Roberts ; whose collection was purchased by the
British Museum.

(This specimen is *in gold*, and is unique. It is in very good but not the best preservation. Weight, 215½ grains.)

No. 2.

Thomas Grainger. Bought at his sale in 1766, for £2 : 6, by
 Mark Cephas Tutet. do. 1786, for £8 : 10 : 6,
 most probably for
 The Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode, who bequeathed his
 collection to the
British Museum.

(Extremely fine.)

No. 3.

Duke of Devonshire. Bought at his sale in 1844, for £8 : 5, by the
British Museum.

In this specimen, the edge is filled with 22 mullets or stars, in place of the usual inscription. It is believed to be unique. It is in good but not fine condition. Nos. 1 and 2 are from the same die. No. 3 is from a different die on each side.

No. 4.

Sir John Twisden. Bought at his sale in 1841, for £10, by
 The late *James Dodsley Cuff.*

(In good preservation.)

No. 5:

Martin Folkes. Bought at his sale in 1756, for £2 : 3, by
 Thomas Hollis. do. 1817, for £15 : 15, by
 Thomas Dimsdale. do. 1824, for £15 : 15, by
 Jones Long. do. 1842, for £7, by
John Alfred Wigan.

(In good preservation.)

No. 6.

Barré C. Roberts ; whose collection was purchased by the British Museum. Bought at their sale of Duplicates in 1811, for £10 : 10, by

Thomas Thomas. Bought at his sale in 1844, for £3 : 10, by *John B. Bergne*.

(Fine.)

No. 7.

Earl of Pomfret ; whose collection descended to Miss Hicks, and was purchased in 1849 by Mr. Cureton. *William Brice*.

(In good preservation.)

No. 8.

James West. Bought at his sale in 1773, with a Shilling of Oliver, for £7 : 2 : 6, by

Joseph Browne. Bought at his sale in 1791, for £5 : 10, by

Edward Hodsol ; whose collection was purchased by

Samuel Tyssen. Bought at his sale in 1802, for £24 : 10, by

Marmaduke Trattle. do. 1832, for £16, by

Colonel Durrant. do. 1847, for £6 : 6, by

George Sparkes. He has however parted with it.

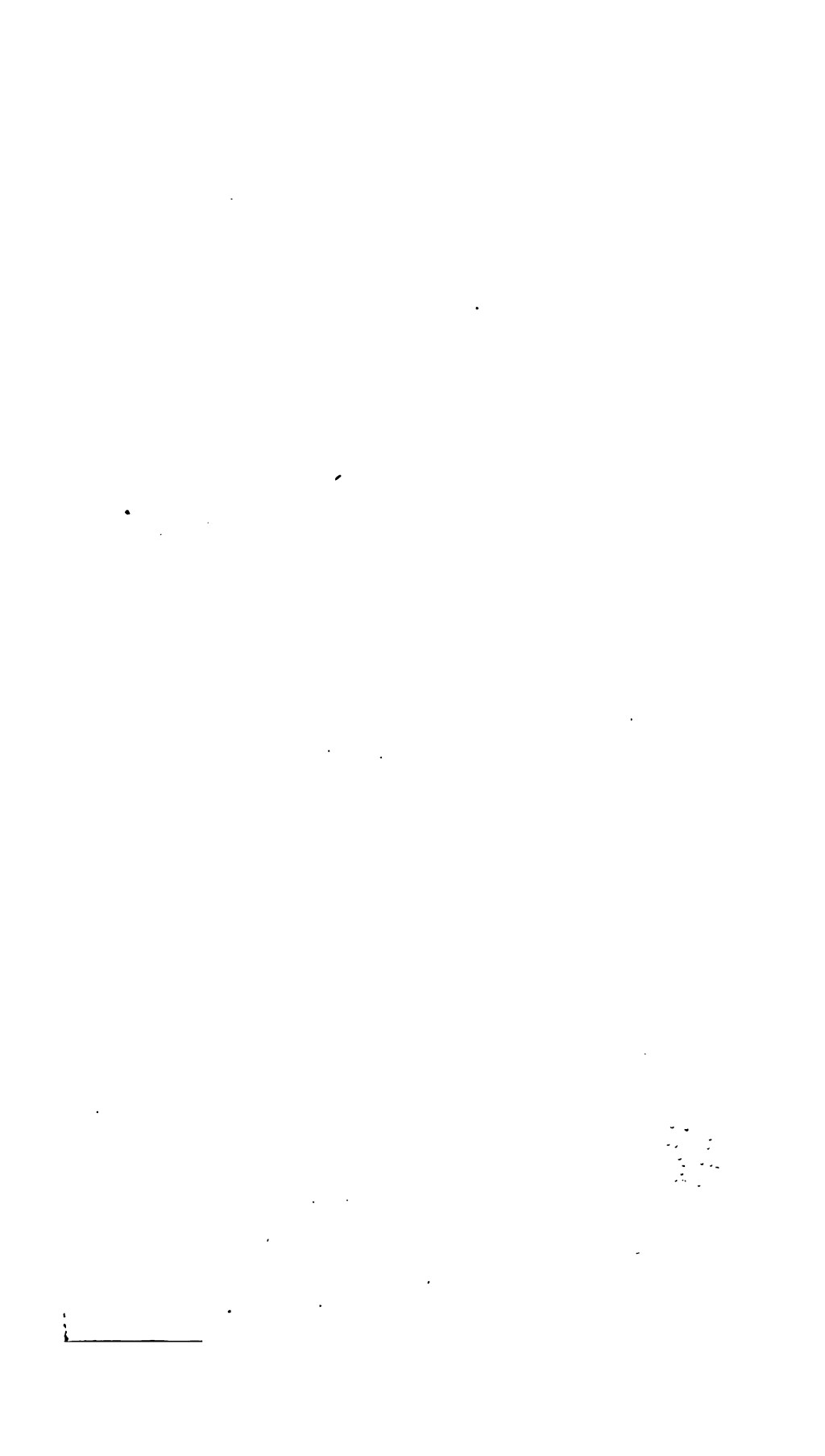
(Fine.)

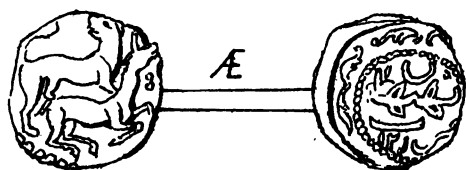
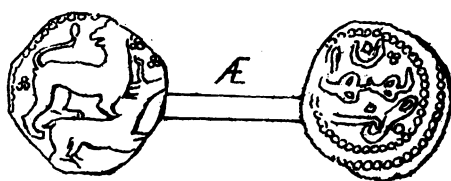
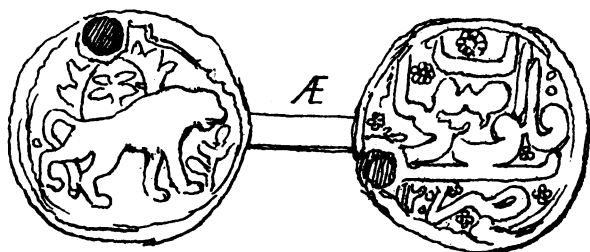
The specimens of this pattern which were sold in the following collections I am unable to identify ; they are however probably among those above enumerated.

Earl of Oxford. 1742. Purchased with a Blondeau's Sixpence, for £2 : 8, by White (perhaps No. 5 or No. 8).

Lindegren. 1786. Purchased by Young, for £3 : 3 (perhaps No. 6).

Higgs. 1830. do. for £10 (perhaps No. 4).





W. S. delint.

VI.

OBSERVATIONS ON A KAZBEGI OF FETH ALEE
SHAH, KING OF PERSIA.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, 26th February, 1854.]

I HAVE the honour to offer the Numismatic Society some observations on a Persian coin of recent date, which affords a remarkable example of the length of time for which a type may remain in use, or of the revival of a type after a great interval by the nation which originally struck it. The coin in question is a common copper one of Persia, bearing the date A. H. 1208, and therefore issued in the reign of Feth 'Alee Shah.* It may be thus described :

Æ. *Obv.*—Lion seizing stag, to the right.

Rev.—"Struck in Behbahan. 1208."

ضرب ببهبهان ۱۲۰۸

This type and inscription are not given by Marsden, all of whose specimens appear to have borne the plural word فلوس *feloos*, which, in the vulgar Arabic, simply signifies "money," and can hardly be, as he supposes, a name of this denomination, since it had, as he also observes, a proper Persian name قزبكي *kazbegi*. This distinguished numismatist does not seem to have been aware that the word *feloos* does not, in the present day, in vulgar Arabic at least, apply to any particular class of money, so that the

* The subjoined plate gives three specimens of this coin, one struck at Ispahan: they are all in copper and much worn.

inscriptions which he reads, for example, "Felûs struck in Tabriz," should be rendered "Money struck in Tabriz."

This class of money, since it bears various types and was minted in many cities during a long period, forms a considerable and interesting series, although it seems to have received little notice from numismatists. The dirhems and deenars, with later gold and silver coins, seem indeed to have taken up their attention so much as almost to exclude the less beautiful but scarcely less interesting copper coinage. With reference to the types which occur on the obverses of the kazbegis, Marsden remarks:

"It has been understood by some writers, that each city where money of this species was coined had its favourite symbol (like the Greek cities), and that the pieces so impressed were confined to the use of its own particular district, a supposition that might readily be disproved by reference to the variety of coins from the same mints, and the variety of mints adopting the same figure, were it not for the assertion of a traveller of the seventeenth century (not corroborated, however, by any recent authority), that it was the practice to issue the currency for one year only, at the end of which the figure on the coin was changed for another, and consequently the money of the elapsed year ceased to possess a legal sanction. This, however, would imply such an endless multiplicity of figures, and would be attended with so much trouble, inconvenience, and expense, as to render the system improbable.

"The discovery of some connexion between the several representations of animals and the well-known Tartarian cycle of twelve years, might at first be anticipated; but although nearly all of those by which the years of the cycle are distinguished (with the exception, perhaps, of the mouse and the monkey) are to be met with in the collection, the

coins obviously exhibit many that are unknown to that cycle or to the zodiac."—*Numismata Orientalia*, pp. 508, 509.

The statement, that the coinage was changed annually, as well as Marsden's conjecture respecting the chronological import of the types, cannot be reconciled with the circumstance, that the same type occurs on coins of a town for more than one year at an interval of less than twelve years, unless, indeed, we suppose that the original custom has fallen into disuse for a considerable time. It seems, therefore, that we can scarcely conclude but that the types are most probably of symbolic import, with often an astronomical character; and if thus much be admitted, I cannot propose a more probable explanation than that the type of the lion devouring the stag symbolizes the Persian King or kingdom subduing hostile nations.

Probably in consequence of the modern Oriental coins having been but little compared with those of ancient times, this piece appears to have escaped the notice of those numismatists who have made ancient Persian coins their study; otherwise they could not have failed to notice the identity of its type with that of the coins described by the Duc de Luynes in his valuable "*Essai sur la Numismatique des Satrapies et de la Phénicie*." The most common types of the reverses of those coins are a lion devouring a bull, and a lion devouring a stag; and we also find a griffin devouring a stag. To these I think we may add, as of the same class of types, the eagle carrying off a fish, which was also the type of reverses of coins of Sinope and Istrus. All the former types have manifestly the same meaning, and one of them is identical with that of the modern coin which we have been considering. In confirmation of this opinion respecting the identity of meaning in several ancient types,

it may be observed that two of them occur on coins of the same place—Tarsus. Some suppose, that the lion was sacred to Tarsus or to its chief god ; but surely the lion of the autonomous coins of that city, crushed to death by Hercules, cannot be the victorious lion of the same city's coins under the Achæmenidæ, so that it is far more likely to symbolize Persian power than a divinity of Tarsus.

It remains for us to consider how it came to pass, that an ancient type was repeated by Feth 'Alee Shah, or had been retained to his time. Of course it may be urged, that it is merely a blind imitation ; but yet this obliges us to reject the only probable explanation of its meaning as a modern coin, while the other types of the kazbegis cannot be classed as similar copies of early money. It seems, therefore, most reasonable to suppose that the Persians in modern times (having retained much of their ancient art and symbolism, astronomy, and astrology) have struck coins with a type occurring on their money of two thousand years before, without being aware of the identity. That the same nation should do thus, at such far distant periods, is a curious fact in numismatics, while it is most interesting to think, that we may be able to say of a peculiar and widespread class of coins, that wherever found they point to Persian rule, or the influence consequent on that rule. That there are imitations no one can doubt ; and I may cite, as among the most certain of these, the well-known silver coin of Bocchus, king of Mauritania, having on the obverse a griffin, and on the reverse a griffin devouring a stag. Coins of this type had been introduced by Persian power into the currency of the great marts of the eastern part of the Mediterranean ; and Phœnician traffic had made them known in north-western Africa. No wonder, then, that Bocchus chose such a type from the money of a great

merchant people, doubtless renowned for its purity, to give reputation to his coinage, and inspire confidence in its worth.

There are two important series of Greek coins which must not be passed by in this place, as they contain coins bearing what we have supposed to be Persian types—the series of Acanthus in Macedonia, and that of Velia in Lucania.

The type on coins of Acanthus is that of the lion devouring the bull, and occupies the obverse, the reverse bearing incuse squares and the name of the people. Their date cannot be later than the fifth century before the Christian era, so that they are coeval with many of the early Persian coins. If we could venture to fix the date more nearly, we should attribute them to about the time of the Expedition of Xerxes. This conjecture is strengthened by a passage in Herodotus, which seems to explain why such a type should occur on a Greek coin; for the historian relates, that the King of Persia, finding the people of Acanthus to be zealous in his service, praised them, established friendly relations with them, and gave them the Median dress (vii.116). Hence nothing is more probable, than that Acanthus, like some Asiatic cities, was permitted to strike money of its own with a Persian type, and that the first money of this type was issued when Xerxes was there, or at least before the last remains of his army had recrossed to Asia.

The coins of Velia with such a type, in like manner, though of a period considerably later than that of the greatest power of Persia, may be traced with probability to an Asiatic origin. Herodotus again comes to our help, and tells us, that this city was founded by some of those who, when Harpagus besieged Phocæa, fled in ships, and,

after various chances, established themselves in Italy, while their companions returned to Asia (i. 164—167). The type is that of the lion devouring a stag, and we also find a standing lion. The latter would not deserve notice, were it not that, in like manner, it occurs with that of the lion and stag on the coins of Tarsus under the Persians. Considering that the Phocæans settled in Italy during a period at which coins of the satraps must have been in common circulation, and were driven away by Persian aggression, it is not surprising that they should have struck money with the types to which they had been used, although we cannot suppose that they attributed to these types their original intention. In this manner, it may be hoped, that we shall often be able to establish general rules respecting early classes of coins, although we must beware not to venture on more than a conjecture, except when we have history to guide us.

REGINALD STUART POOLE.

British Museum, Jan. 26th, 1854.

VII.

SOME ACCOUNT OF A HOARD OF ROMAN COINS FOUND IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.

SIR,

I BEG to offer you, for insertion in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, some account of a hoard of coins recently found in this country. They were discovered near Evenley (Brackley, Northamptonshire), in a common earthenware vase, and were offered for sale to the Museum. By desire of Mr. Hawkins, I submitted them to a careful examination, and

selected those which were wanted for the National Collection.

The coins composing this hoard were second and third brass of various emperors, as will appear from the following lists; the first of which is of the second brass, classed according to sovereigns and types; the second, of the third brass, classed according to sovereigns; and the third, of those coins which were selected for the Museum. The second brass were generally well preserved, but the third, much worn.

SECOND BRASS.

DIOCLETIANUS.

Type of Reverse.	No. of Coins	
FELIX ADVENT AVGG NN	-	6
FORTVNAE REDVCI CAESS NN	-	2
GENIO POPVLI ROMANI	-	353
MONETA SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN	-	7
MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN	-	13
M SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN	-	17
PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG	-	38
QVIES AVGG	-	22
QVIES AVGVSTORVM	-	6
SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN	-	2
SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR	-	29
SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN	-	4
SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART	-	13
Reverse effaced	-	2
Sum	-	514

MAXIMIANUS I. HERCULES.

FELIX ADVENT AVGG NN	-	5
FORTVNAE REDVCI AVGG NN	-	1
FORTVNAE REDVCI CAESS NN	-	1
GENIO POP ROM	-	139
GENIO POPVLI ROMANI	-	319
HERCULI CONSERVATORI	-	1
MARS VICTOR	-	1
MONETA SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN	-	2
MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN	-	5
M SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN	-	1

Type of Reverse.	No. of Coins.
PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG -	- 33
ROMAE AETER - - - -	- 1
SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN -	- 5
SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR -	- 20
SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN -	- 6
SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS AVCTA KART -	- 1
SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART -	- 12

Sum - - 553

CONSTANTIUS I.

FELIX ADVENT AVGG NN - -	- 11
FIDES MILITVM - - - -	- 4
FORTVNAE REDVCI AVGG NN - -	- 1
FORTVNAE REDVCI CAESS NN - -	- 1
GENIO AVGG ET CAESARVM NN - -	- 1
GENIO POPVLI ROMANI - - -	- 435
MEMORIA FELIX - - - -	- 9
MONETA SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN -	- 1
MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN - -	- 2
M SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN - -	- 5
SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN -	- 4
SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR -	- 13
SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN -	- 4
SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS AVCTA KART -	- 2
SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART -	- 13

Sum - - 506

GAL. VAL. MAXIMIANUS II.

FELIX ADVENT AVGG NN. - -	- 5
FIDES MILITVM - - - -	- 3
FORTVNAE REDVCI AVGG NN - -	- 1
FORTVNAE REDVCI CAESS NN - -	- 3
GENIO POP ROM - - - -	- 31
GENIO POPVLI ROMANI - - -	- 387
MONETA SACRA AVG ET CAESS NN -	- 2
MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN - -	- 13
M SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN - -	- 12
SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN -	- 4
SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR -	- 17
SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN -	- 5
SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART -	- 3

Sum - - 486

FL. VAL. SEVERUS II.

Type of Reverse.	No. of Coins.
GENIO POPVLI ROMANI - - -	- 68
SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN -	- 1
VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS NN - -	- 2
Sum -	- 71

MAXIMINUS II. DAZA.

GENIO POP ROM - - -	- 31
GENIO POPVLI ROMANI - - -	- 45
SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR -	- 1
VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS NN - -	- 3
Sum -	- 80

CONSTANTINUS MAGNUS.

GENIO POP ROM - - -	- 154
GENIO POPVLI ROMANI - - -	- 45
GENIO POPVLI ROM - - -	- 1
MARS VICTOR - - -	- 2
MARTI PACIF - - -	- 2
MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI - - -	- 5
MARTI PATRI PROPVGNATORI - - -	- 8
MARTI PATRI PROPVG - - -	- 2
PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS - - -	- 11
ROMAE AETER - - -	- 2
VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS NN - -	- 1
Sum -	- 233

Uncertain - - -	- 5
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Total Second Brass - 2448

THIRD BRASS

Valerianus, Senior - - -	- 1
Gallienus - - -	- 322
Salonina - - -	- 19
Victorinus, Senior - - -	- 8
Tetricus, Senior - - -	- 6
Tetricus, Junior - - -	- 4
Claudius Gothicus - - -	- 293
Quintillus - - -	- 21
Aurelianus - - -	- 14
Tacitus - - -	- 1

Probus	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Diocletianus	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Maximianus I. Hercules-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Carausius	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Sum							705
Total number of coins							3,153

LIST OF COINS SELECTED FOR THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

SECOND BRASS.

DIOCLETIANUS.

1. *Rev.*—M SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN. Ex. ATR.
Moneta standing, to left.

MAXIMIANUS I. HERCULES.

2. *Rev.*—FORTVNAE REDVCI AVGG NN. Ex. TR.
Fortuna seated, to left.

3. *Rev.*—FORTVNAE REDVCI CAESS NN. Ex. TR. In
field B and *. Fortuna standing, to left.

4. *Rev.*—HERCVLI CONSERVATORI. Ex. PLN. Her-
cules standing, to left.

5. *Rev.*—MARS VICTOR. Ex. PLN. Mars walking, to
right.

6. *Rev.*—MONETA SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN. Ex.
. . TR. Moneta standing, to left.

7. *Rev.*—MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN. Ex. ATR.
In field *. Moneta standing, to left.

8. *Rev.*—ROMAE AETER. Ex. PLN. Roma seated in
hexastyle temple.

CONSTANTIUS I.

9. *Rev.*—FORTVNAE REDVCI CAESS NN. Ex. TR.
Fortuna standing, to left.

10. *Rev.*—GENIO AVGG ET CAESARUM NN. Ex. KB.
Genius standing, to left.

11. *Rev.*—MONETA SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN.
Ex. ATR. Moneta standing, to left.

12. *Rev.*—M SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN. Ex. ATR.
In field *. Moneta standing, to left.

13. The same reverse, chosen on account of difference of
obverse.

14. *Rev.*—The same. Ex. BTR. In field *. Moneta
standing, to left.

GAL. VAL. MAXIMIANUS II.

15. FORTVNAE REDVCI AVGG NN. Ex. TR. Fortuna seated, to left.

16. FORTVNAE REDVCI CAESS NN. Ex. TR. Fortuna standing, to left.

17. FORTVNAE REDVCI CAESS NN. Ex. ATR. Fortuna standing, to left.

18. GENIO POP ROM. Ex. PLN. Genius standing.

19. GENIO POP ROM. Ex. PTR. In field S A. Genius standing.

20. GENIO POP ROM. Ex. PTQ. In field S C. Genius standing.

21. GENIO POP ROM. Genius standing.

22. MONETA SACRA AVGG. ET CAESS NN. Ex. BTR. In field *. Moneta standing, to left.

23. MONETA SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN. Ex. BTR. In field *. Moneta standing, to left.

[The inscription on the obverse of this coin differs from that of the preceding one.]

24. MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN. Ex. ATR. In field *. Moneta standing, to left.

25. MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN. Ex. ITR. In field S F. Moneta standing, to left.

26. MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN. Ex. IITR. In field S F. Moneta standing, to left.

27. M SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN. Ex. ATR. In field *. Moneta standing, to left.

28. M SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN. Ex. BTR. In field *. Moneta standing, to left.

29. SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART. Ex. Δ. Carthago standing, having corn in her hands, to left.

MAXIMINIUS II. DAZA.

30. SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR. Ex. PT. . Moneta standing, to left.

CONSTANTINUS I. MAGNUS.

31. GENIO POPVLI ROM. Ex. PT. . In field S C. Genius standing, to left.

32. MARS VICTOR. Ex. PLN. Mars walking, to right.

33. MARTI PACIF. Ex. PLN. Mars running, to left.

34. ROMAE AETER. Ex. PLN. Roma seated in hexa-style temple.

It will be observed, that the mint-marks on these selected coins are of three cities, Treves, London, and Carthage. Those of Treves present considerable variety. Sometimes we find nothing but TR, but in other cases the number of the mint is marked by a Latin or Greek numeral, thus

ATR and I TR	
BTR and	} and II TR
TR with B in field	

Besides these, we find the mint-mark PTR, which P may be *pecunia* or *percussa* or *prima*, and PTQ, when the final Q probably represents 5 (*pecunia quinta* or *officina quinta*). The mint-mark of London is simply PLN, and no variety is found in this selection, while that of Carthage is KB and Δ, the K being omitted when KART occurs in the inscription.

I have only to add some general remarks on the hoard as indicating the relative quantity of money of two denominations struck under each emperor in the western provinces. As the coins are not alone of the London mint, but of those of the whole empire, although the coins of London and Treves naturally predominate, they may be held to afford a fair notion of the relative amount minted by the emperors in Gaul and Britain, and indeed in the West generally. The hoard was probably deposited early in the reign of Constantine the Great, previously to his being declared Augustus; and the earliest coin found in it is of the unfortunate father of Gallienus, the Emperor Valerian. The coins, therefore, were struck within the interval from the last year of Valerian to the accession of Constantine as Cæsar, that is, from A.D. 260 to A.D. 306 inclusive, but probably during a few years more. Thus the money in circulation in Britain at the commencement of Constantine's reign was, in a great measure, that struck during the

preceding half century; for, although we find in this hoard but a single coin of Valerianus Senior, those of Gallienus are sufficiently numerous to show that they were in common use; indeed, it appears, that the third brass of most of the emperors preceding Diocletian and Maximianus Hercules was so plentiful, that the latter and their successors until Constantine the Great scarcely struck any but second brass. But, under Constantine, the third brass coinage of the earlier emperors had become so worn, that it was necessary to issue a fresh coinage of that denomination, of which great quantities have been found throughout the empire. But this coinage must have been first issued after the time that the hoard we are considering was deposited, since it contains no specimens of it.

There are some peculiarities in this hoard which are not easily accounted for, and which we must not omit noticing. Commencing with the third brass, we are not surprised to find so many coins of Gallienus, nor that Salonina should be represented by a proportionate number of those bearing her name, but we should have expected that Postumus, who ruled in Gaul, and whose money is so common, should have been represented by a few at least of his coins, yet not a single one is found. Of Victorinus the elder, and the elder and younger Tetricus, there are fewer specimens than we should have anticipated, though such is not the case with Claudius Gothicus, who has nearly as many as Gallienus. Of Quintillus and Aurelian there are a few, and of Tacitus but one, and of Probus but a few, while we should have expected many. The family of Carus are not represented by a single coin. Of Diocletian and Maximianus Hercules there are six coins, three of each; and of Carausius strangely but two, and of Allectus not one.

It is especially disappointing that this hoard has not been

found to contain many coins of Carausius and Allectus, contrary to my expectation founded on the circumstance, that it was doubtless deposited not long after their time; and the only coins of Carausius were not of rare types, nor in any way remarkable. It may be suggested in explanation of our not finding more of his coins, nor any of his successor, Allectus, that the hoard was a soldier's pay, and that by an imperial edict the money of these sovereigns (the latter of whom seems not to have been acknowledged by the great emperors, the former most reluctantly) may have been declared illegal, and melted down when in the hands of government. Such, too, may have been the case with the coins of Carus, Carinus, and Numerian, whom Diocletian and Maximian may have thus treated with dishonour after their death. This is but a conjecture; but it acquires a certain degree of probability from the circumstance, that no other seems to meet the case, and that those who honoured their deceased predecessors, as did many Roman emperors, by striking coins to their memory, would not have been unlikely to adopt a contrary course as to those whom they held to be or affected to consider as usurpers.

Respecting the second brass, it may be noticed, that the absence of coins of Maxentius and Licinius the elder confirms the date to which I have assigned the depositing of the hoard; for we cannot assign the same reason that we have in the case of Carausius and others, since the hoard could not be carried as late as after the death of Licinius. The types of reverses, however, suggest some remarks, as they cannot fail to strike every one as characteristic of the time to which they belong, and the emperors who are represented upon their obverses. The greatest number of specimens are of the type GENIO POPVLI ROMANI, or

of its abbreviated form GENIO POP ROM, by which the emperors sought to flatter a people which was then under a harder government than it had ever previously endured, by an inscription which would have better suited the time of the Commonwealth. The figure of the genius of the Roman people is that of an Alexandrian divinity, as though a compliment had been intended to the capital of Egypt, whose long series of coins was just being brought to a close; and the approaching downfall of Paganism is indicated by the circumstance that a divinity of that Isiac system which had so greatly contributed to the ruin of the Roman people, should represent their protecting genius. Similar to this is ROMAÆ ÆTER, which even Constantine struck, although he was about to transfer the seat of empire to Byzantium. Of the remaining types a few, such as MARS VICTOR, imply piety towards the gods, chiefly as givers of victory and prosperity.

But the greatest number of types are those which relate to the Cæsars and Augusti, many of which bear the figure of Juno Moneta, and the inscription expressed in various ways that it was the sacred money of our Augusti and Cæsars, a compliment from the Roman people, who were supposed to have struck the coins to their rulers. Others are inscribed to divinities thought to protect the sovereigns, or commemorate their happy arrival, or the faithfulness of the soldiers, who, having slain so many emperors, were now reduced under a stern military despotism to the strictest obedience. Not the least curious is the well known type of Carthage, with the inscription calling on Carthage to save the Augusti and Cæsars. Thus Carthage was exalted into a goddess, and the inhabitants were flattered by her being made the protector of the sovereigns in a very different feeling from that of the stern

old Romans, who destroyed their hereditary enemy. Others commemorate the valour of the rulers; and under Constantine we find one philosophic inscription, MARTI PACIF (*icatori* or *ifero*), shewing that there were in those days some who thought that a lasting peace was the right end of war. All indicate the same falling away of art and of imagination in the coarseness of their execution, and the uninteresting character of their inscriptions, telling chiefly of hard despotism supported by the sword and by flattery, of superstition and adulation, monuments of a brief period of outward prosperity, which was soon to result in the irretrievable downfall of the greatest political structure of the ancient world.

R. STUART POOLE.

British Museum, May, 1854.

VIII.

ON THE DECIMAL SYSTEM.

THE perseverance with which, for some years past, a party, comparatively few in number, have endeavoured to force the Government into the adoption of the decimal system, seems now to have almost accomplished its end. I observe, that all the witnesses whom the Committee of the House of Commons examined on this subject were unanimous in its favour; and thereupon the Committee reported that no objections whatever exist to its introduction, excepting popular prejudice, and the necessity of adjusting certain pecuniary obligations.

I shall leave it to your readers to judge whether the

following objections are founded on popular prejudice or on truth. First, I would point out the singular fact, that every one of the learned mathematicians who were examined, overlooked, or neglected to state, the radical defect of the decimal system, namely, that the number 10 is indivisible either by 3 or 4, and consequently by 6, 8, or 12. The well known 6*s.* 8*d.* is imperfectly and awkwardly represented by $\cdot 333$, and the sum three times repeated, instead of amounting to £1 as at present, appears in the strange guise of $\cdot 999$. In the retail trade, the inability to divide by 3 and 4 is likely to prove very inconvenient.

Another objection to the decimal system is, that the number of figures required to indicate fractional sums will in most cases be increased. As the pound is the unit, it will be necessary either to rule down three columns where two only are now used, or else three figures must always be expressed in full, even though the first are 0*s.* At present, if two entries follow each other, one of £1 1*s.* 0*d.* and the next of £1 0*s.* 1*d.*, we simply write 1 in each of the proper columns, adding a slight stroke to indicate where there are no shillings or pence. But under the decimal system we must enter 1·050 and 1·005 in full, otherwise it will hardly be possible to add them up without mistakes. It may further be observed, that under the present system, even if the 0*s.* were all inserted, the total number of figures required are but six, while under the decimal system they are eight. Those only who have tried the decimal system know how troublesome it is to add up the high numbers, such as $\cdot 789$, $\cdot 987$, which are perpetually recurring among the fractions.

That the decimal system presents peculiar facilities in the calculation of annuities, reversions, and foreign exchanges, I readily admit. But such calculations are in practice usually effected by simply referring to printed

tables ; so that, even here, the practical advantages of decimals have been overrated ; while, on the other hand, it has been shown above, that some objections do exist which have been entirely overlooked by the committee.

I take this opportunity of remarking, that the oval medal of Frederick III., described by me in the last number of the Chronicle, as unpublished, has, I find, been engraved by Van Mieris. It is the work of Antonio Abbondio, and therefore executed long after the emperor's death.

G. SPARKES.

Bromley, in Kent.

IX.

ON THE CAUSES WHICH INFLUENCE THE VALUE OF COINS.

To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.

SIR,

IF any one who had no knowledge of numismatics were to turn over the leaves of several sale catalogues, and there observe the very dissimilar prices which not only similar coins, but often, at successive sales, the very same specimen has produced, he would probably conclude, that the value of a coin was altogether arbitrary. It must be conceded, that the price of coins, like that of all other articles which have only a limited market, is subject to great fluctuations. A few coins, or a few collectors, more or less, will, at any particular time and place, raise or depress their value materially.

Under these circumstances, any attempt to investigate the causes which operate on the value of coins may seem

as hopeless as to enchain a Proteus. But although, for the reason just assigned, no one could pretend to say what price a certain coin will actually produce at a certain auction, yet, unless numismatics be altogether an idle fancy, experienced judges ought to agree pretty nearly as to what, under ordinary circumstances, it ought to produce. Every collector knows what it is that operates on his own mind in purchasing each coin; but I am not aware that any one has hitherto attempted to lay down and mark with precision the principal motives which operate on collectors generally. Such an attempt, if successful, will have this utility—it will point out what are the qualities to be desired in a coin, and assist the judgment in estimating the value of any particular specimen. I would here observe, that though, at first sight, these remarks may seem to refer to coins only as articles of trade, yet the point to which I am in reality inviting the attention of your readers is the desire of collectors to obtain them; and of this desire the money price is the index.

By numismatic value I understand the value which a coin possesses over and above its weight in metal. The principal elements of this value are eight, namely, historical interest, rarity, size, artistic excellence, good mintage, good preservation, patination, and connection with a series. On each of these I purpose making a few remarks.

HISTORICAL INTEREST. This is the first and noblest inducement to the study of numismatics. A coin not only gives us the same facts as a written history, but presents them as a picture before our eyes, thus appealing to the senses as well as to the imagination. To read of the exploits of some hero is indeed interesting, but how much more so when we not only see a faithful representation of those exploits on a medal, and perhaps on the other side an

equally faithful portrait of the hero himself, but are conscious that we actually touch and handle something made and fashioned by those who lived at the very time. Can any one who is duly impressed with a sense of the obligations which he, in common with every inhabitant of civilized Europe, owes to ancient Athens, and is aware how his very thoughts have been moulded and formed by the influence of the Athenian mind, contemplate without emotion and reverence the rude tetradrachm which was once possessed by some one of her illustrious sons. Or, not to multiply the examples with which the science teems, shall any one remain cold and unmoved when, on taking up a tribute penny, he reflects that it was certainly one of these coins, possibly that identical specimen, on which, eighteen centuries ago, the gaze of the Saviour fell?

In order to enjoy all the pleasure which historical recollections are capable of educing from a coin, it must not only be of certain attribution, but also have been struck at the time. It is only when a piece so struck is unattainable, that one struck subsequently from original dies may be allowed to pass muster. If the dies have been retouched, it should be rejected without hesitation. As to the medals with old types but from modern dies, which are issued from several continental mints, I class them with forgeries, as spurious as Becker's, but of much less merit. Forgeries, indeed, of rare ancient pieces, if of the time, are often admitted into good cabinets; and plated coins of Matidia and others have a certain pecuniary value, which follows, though at a respectful distance, the value of their prototypes. Paduans likewise are, at times, admitted as works of modern art.

Historical interest often operates locally. Thus a *Victoria Brittannica* is not much prized beyond the country to

which it refers, while a Judæa Capta, having a world-wide fame, is eagerly sought after by collectors of all countries, and therefore, were it equally scarce, would probably produce a much higher price.

RARITY. This is a quality which, in all things and by all persons, is more than sufficiently estimated. No wonder then, that it holds an important place among the elements of numismatic value. But the estimation in which a coin is held on account of its rarity, depends upon the degree in which its type is removed from those of common coins; for instance, Hope personified is of such frequent occurrence in the Roman series, that a medal bearing that device would not be much prized, even though it could be shewn that no similar coin of that particular emperor had ever come to light. Far different would be the case if a reverse were discovered portraying some deity not hitherto seen on Roman coins.

SIZE. Other circumstances being equal, larger coins are always more esteemed than smaller. It may be presumed, that as the proof coins of English monarchs are usually issued from the mint only in sets, crowns, of some reigns at least, must be as numerous as half-crowns. Their types also are the same, but their prices very different. No doubt a large coin has a nobler appearance, and by affording more space to the artist, shows off the type to greater advantage; but it sometimes happens, in modern coins, that the spread being increased without corresponding relief, the general effect is rather deteriorated than improved. As to huge medals which in size more resemble *bas reliefs* than coins, they need be of very superior merit to compensate for the space they occupy in a cabinet.

ARTISTIC EXCELLENCE. Here we have a quality well deserving admiration. A taste to feel it in all its beauty is

partly the gift of nature; but, like all other natural gifts, it requires and repays cultivation. Few persons at the first sight of a Petition Crown can appreciate its merit, or experience half the pleasure which the advanced numismatist enjoys. It must, I fear, be admitted, that neither in ancient nor in modern times have the best artists, generally speaking, devoted their talents to numismatic engraving. Gem-cutting has paid better, and has consequently drawn away the greatest masters. It is probably to the superabundance of artists fostered by this latter branch, that we owe the beautiful and varied specimens of numismatic excellence which we find dispersed through the Greek series; and if, in more modern times, Pickler had employed his time on medals instead of gems, even Simon would not only have been rivalled, but in all probability excelled.

In valuing a coin on account of the beauty of its engraving, regard must be had to the period of its execution. Our judgment on this point should be comparative. Among Saxon coins, we may prize an Offa on account of its good work, though a similarly executed coin, if we could conceive such a one to have ever issued from the mint of Thurium, would be looked upon as absolutely barbarous.

GOOD MINTAGE. In vain does the artist exercise his talents, if the mechanical part of the coinage is so ill executed as to present his work in an imperfect or mutilated form. Such has been the sad fate of many medals of Cellini and his contemporaries. The chief requirements of good mintage are, that the die be not worn—nor fractured—nor blurred—nor rusted; and that the module be circular—sufficiently large to receive all the type, but without excess—not struck when very hot so as to present a blistered surface—not cracked in striking—nor double struck—

nor struck—with insufficient force, or unevenly, that is to say, with more force on one part than another.

GOOD PRESERVATION. Our coin having left the mint in perfection, has, during its long journey of centuries, many enemies to encounter and disasters to avoid before it arrives safely into the collector's hands. Unless it escapes these perils without material damage, the talent of the artist and the care of the moneyer prove alike unfruitful. Under this head it is required, that the coin be not rubbed—nor bruised—nor bored; nor set as an ornament—nor scraped—nor tooled—nor cleaned by fire or corrosive liquids—nor the surface altered by sulphuring, gilding, enamelling or otherwise—nor covered with any persistent incrustation rendering the impression indistinct.

PATINATION. This is the crowning glory of copper and its alloys. It is often of surprising thickness, and yet, when fine, instead of obscuring, sets off and shews to the greatest advantage the minutest beauties of the engraving. Blue is the most valuable; then the shades of green according to their brilliancy; and, lastly, the darker and more indistinct colours.

Patination is further desirable, inasmuch as it is not imitable by art. A few years, however, seem sufficient, under some circumstances, to produce it. I have a half-penny of 1806, found in my garden, well patinated with smooth and shining olive green.

Though the nobler metals, content with their natural beauty, refuse to adorn themselves with any adventitious colouring, yet by age both gold and silver often acquire a tone which is pleasing to the eye, and valuable in assisting the lights and shadows of the engraving. Injudicious cleaning, by destroying this tone, often reduces very materially the value of a coin.

CONNECTION WITH A SERIES. Many collectors confine themselves to some particular series; and their desire to perfect that series often gives an increased value to those rare coins which are requisite to complete it. For this reason, a gold Manlia Scantilla will produce a price which its own intrinsic merits could never have commanded. When a coin forms a part of two series, collectors who, on no other occasion oppose each other, are thus sometimes brought into collision, and the price still further enhanced. A Cunobeline, for instance, is sought after both by Greek and English collectors, and a Juba both by Greek and Roman.

To form a regular series of some class or classes of coins has been, from the commencement of the science, the leading object of most numismatists. It certainly has its advantages; and I am not disposed to underrate them. But I must confess that I should prefer a collection whose object was to present a rapid but characteristic outline of numismatic art from the earliest times to the present, the specimens being so selected as to combine, in the smallest possible compass, the greatest possible amount of historical interest and artistic excellence.

Finally, I would remark, that of all the qualities enumerated in this paper as desirable in a coin, there is not one which, standing entirely alone, would confer on it any appreciable value. It is their union which gives them strength; and when thus united they raise the price in a geometrical rather than in an arithmetical ratio. This is more especially the case when, in addition to other qualities, extreme rarity is combined with superior preservation.

G. SPARKES.

Bromley, in Kent.

MISCELLANEA.

SILVER COINS FOUND NEAR DUBLIN.

Dear Sir,—During the month of July, 1853, I examined, at a Jeweller's in Dublin, a small hoard of silver coins, found a few weeks previously in the vicinity of Dublin, but the exact spot I could not properly ascertain, though I endeavoured to do so on several occasions. The hoard consisted of about two hundred short-cross pennies of our disputed Henry, of the London and Canterbury mints, and of various moneyers' names and readings, with about fifty pennies of the Dublin mint of John, RODBERDONDIVE. There were also among them three triangle halfpence of John, which, with some of the former, are now preserved in my cabinet: two of these last read, on obverse, IOHAN REX; reverse, ROBERDOND.; the other, obverse, IOHANNES REX; reverse, ROBERDONDI. Of the pennies of Henry there were only two specimens, having, as the mint mark, on reverse, the cross and four pellets, similar to those contained in the angles of the long-cross, on reverse; these two are now in my cabinet, and read, on reverse, ARNAV.D.ON.CA and NICHOLE ON CAN. I may here remark, *en passant*, that I have found this mint-mark of much rarity; and it is, I believe, confined (why, I know not) to the mint of Canterbury. I previously had but two, though possessing a very large number of the short-cross pennies of Henry: they are varieties from those above-named, one reading, ARNAV.D.ON.C, the other, NICHOLE:ON CANT—. There were also, in this hoard, four cut or divided pennies of Henry with the short-cross, thus divided in order to pass as halfpence: two of these I now possess; the other two I rejected, as being in very bad preservation. There was also a divided penny or sterling of a foreign bishop, exactly resembling the reverse type of our disputed Henry. This coin is now in my cabinet, and I herewith send you a drawing of it; it weighs $9\frac{1}{2}$ grains. I have not the means of appropriating it, living in a distant provincial town, where, consequently, our means of reference on many subjects must be but limited, but I hope some member of the Numismatic Society may be able to do so, as it appears to be an interesting coin, and one which may throw some light on our much-disputed subject. The head, on

obverse, seems like that of a shaven monk ; the reverse is exactly similar to that of our Henry. It reads, on obverse, SAN, no doubt the commencement of the word "Sanctus"; on reverse, +SO—VS. The formation of the letter S on reverse, and so different from that of the same letter on obverse, is curious and remarkable, no doubt the works of different artists¹

The evidence of this hoard, I should say, is in favour of the short-cross pennies being appropriated to Henry the Second, and for these reasons : in the first place, nearly all the coins of Henry were in a very bad state of preservation, much rubbed and worn, and consequently appearing as having been much used in circulation ; secondly, almost every coin of John was in fine preservation, and apparently but little used ; and, thirdly, there was no long-cross penny of Henry the Third to be found among them. I should, therefore, conclude this deposit must have been made during the reign of John ; and if so, the short-cross pennies decidedly must then belong to Henry the Second.

When I first saw this hoard early in July, it was in the exact state in which it had been purchased from a countryman a few weeks previously by the jeweller ; but when I last saw it in September, it was mixed up with other coins and broken silver, and, as I expect, ere this consigned to the melting-pot, but from which I had been so fortunate as to have previously rescued over one dozen choice, rare, or interesting coins. I remain, etc.,

EDWARD HOARE.

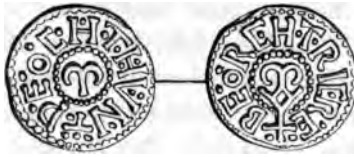
Cork, November 28th, 1853.

THE COINAGE OF 1853.—We mentioned the other day the extraordinary and enormous amount of our coinage last year ; but the other two great mints of the world have been equally active. The coinage at the London Mint amounted in value to no less than £12,663,009 ; in France the coinage of the year amounted to £14,101,120 ; and in the United States the amount was £11,961,712 ; so that the three principal Mints of the world issued in one year coin to the value of £38,725,831. The *Economist* justly remarks, that such an immense amount of coinage still leaving complaints of insufficient currency to conduct the domestic transactions of these three great countries, points to an increase of trade and activity in productive industry, without any parallel in history of the world.—*The Times*, Feb. 14, 1854.

¹ This is a coin of Munster, in Westphalia. See the Numismatic Manual, English Section, under the reign of Henry the Third.—ED. N. C.

X.

NEW COIN OF BEORCHTRIC.



[Read before the Numismatic Society, May 25, 1854.]

Andover, 1st May, 1854.

THE coin, of which a fac-simile is herewith sent, was found within two miles of Andover in the course of last month; and as I believe that it is exceedingly rare, I have sent a fac-simile to you, that, through the Numismatic Chronicle, it may be made known to those who study this branch of Antiquities.

The coin is very clear and distinct, and of perfect weight 22 grains. The only other specimen known is in the Hunter Collection (engraved in Ruding and other Numismatic Works), and this differs from it both in the centre of the obverse, and in the name of the moneyer.

Beorchtric was at one time classed with the kings of the West Saxons; but the researches of Taylor Combe (*Archaeologia*, vol. xix.), Ruding (*Annals of Coinage*), and Hawkins (*The Silver Coins of England*), have assigned him to East Anglia. This arrangement is also adopted by Lindsay in his work on the Coinage of the Heptarchy.

Haigh, in his *Numismatic History of the East Anglian Kingdom*, says:—"Beorchtric was probably successor to Æthelstan," and also, "there is no record of any Beorchtric in connexion with the history of East Anglia; but it appears from two charters of Berthuulf, king of the Mercians, printed in the *Codex Diplomaticus* of the English Historical Society (Nos. 242 and 258), that he had a son of that name (charters granted to the Bishop of Worcester, A.D. 840 and 845, attested by 'Berhtric filius regis,' *Cod. Dip. Ævi Saxonica*, vol. ii. pp. 5 and 26). But how could a sovereign of the then declining kingdom of Mercia have so much influence in East Anglian affairs as to have a son sitting on the throne of that kingdom? This is a problem which, for want of evidence, I am unable to solve." East Anglia, however, had been subject to the power of Mercia from 793, on the death of Æthelberht, until 823, when they sought the protection of Ecgbearht, king of the West Saxons; and in 823 and 825 they defeated and slew in two successive battles Beornuulf and Ludica, kings of the Mercians. In this struggle for independence they were led by a king of their own (*Saxon Chronicle*).

Whether by these successes, the East Anglians established their freedom is quite uncertain; from the evidence furnished by the coin before us; and of others which I shall afterwards allude to, I am led to conclude that they did not, but that East Anglia was ruled by a deputy. However this may be, I think the coin plainly shews, that the king of Mercia exercised also the title of King of East Anglia, so that while during his father's life only $\mathfrak{A}$ appears on the coin of Beorchtric, which he probably governed as his father's deputy, after his father's death his coin then bears the impress of the symbols of both kingdoms. For this I take to be the meaning of the monogram in the centre of

the obverse of my coin. On the Hunterian coin it is $\mathfrak{A}$ the badge of East Anglia; on mine it is a monogram combining both a Υ and an $\mathfrak{A}$.

On coins of Berhtuulf engraven in Ruding, Appendix, Pl. xxvii., No. 3, and perhaps Pl. xxix., No. 20, the large $\mathfrak{A}$ on the reverse seems to form a similar monogram. I would remark, that I am indebted to Mr. Lindsay for calling my attention to the significance of this monogram.

Beorchtric's reign was probably of short duration, and after his death the dominion of the Mercian princes over East Anglia may have ceased, never to be resumed; at least, no evidence appears to warrant our presuming its continuance.

The moneyer's name on this newly-discovered coin is PEOCHTHVN, one not hitherto published.

I trust these remarks will draw the attention of the readers of the Numismatic Chronicle to this very interesting coin, and that it may elicit observations more certain and important.

I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

SAMUEL SHAW.

J. B. Bergne, Esq., *Treasurer*,
Numismatic Society, London.

XI.

ON CELTO-IRISH RING-MONEY,

WITH A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE.

[The Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle considers it due to himself and to his readers, to state, that as the writer of the following paper has thought fit to censure, in no measured terms, the shortening of his article by the omission of many redundancies of language and the correction of some blunders, *his paper is now printed verbatim, as corrected by himself.* The readers of the article will doubtless appreciate the wisdom of this course.]

THE subject of ring-money and jewel-currency is a *vexata questio*.—Much has been written on that difficult and perplexing subject, in the Numismatic Chronicle, and in other works, and with great ingenuity and cleverness, both in favour of such a supposition and fact, and also in opposition and contradistinction thereto, and I doubt not but that much more yet remains to be done, before the question can be either fully resolved on or decided.

There appear to be no less than four different classes of advocates for, and opinions expressed regarding these singular relics :—First, there are those, who claim for them, that they were formed solely, exclusively, actually, and altogether, for the purposes of a money-currency, and that such was the money of very ancient times, long before coined money was either known, thought of, or invented :—Secondly, others, who suppose, that they were formed with a double meaning and intention, both as articles of ornament, or use, and also, for the purpose of a media of ex-

change, including among the latter, and extending to, all jewel ornaments of the valuable metals, and for this reason, that they are generally, and with few exceptions, some of which can be accounted for, in consequence of wear, attrition, damage, or other similar like causes, found to be of certain graduated weights :—Thirdly, there are those, and as yet, and hitherto, they appear to have been by far the greater number, though gradually lessening, and declining, who say, these articles were no doubt objects of ornament, and may have been, and probably were used, as media of exchange, as any valuable commodity may be, but such is merely barter, not currency, and we therefore cannot allow a money-character to such, but regard them merely as bullion :—and Fourthly, there are those, who will not allow any character whatever to them, but that of mere personal ornaments.—

I think with the fourth class we have but little to do, though I cannot help remarking, that those persons, who claim them to be mere articles of ornament only, will not even ever tell us exactly, what ornaments such were intended for, or to what precise use, or purpose many of them have been put, whether as beads, ear-rings, nose-rings, finger-rings, fibulas, or so forth : To those, also, who will not allow any money character whatever to these relics, and totally deny all such ideas, I would simply say, If not these, what else therefore was, or must have been, the money, or the media of exchange of the ancient nations of the earth, and are we to suppose that all exchanges trade and intercourse between man and man, previous to the use of a stamped money, consisted merely of a species of barter ! How, therefore, did those persons manage, who, wanting some small object, had nothing to give for it, except something of greater value, and was the one to take for such, more

than its real worth, or the other to receive a greater abundance of what he neither wanted, or required?—The idea is absurd:—a species of some money, a recognised media of exchange, of some kind or other, must have existed, in all ages, and in all nations, whenever, or wherever, men began to increase, multiply, and greatly congregate, in order to supply and meet the mutual wants and wishes of each other.—

The question, I think, therefore, lies between the opinions only of those of the second and third classes, and on the mere words, like those of the son of Mr. Dombey, "*What is money?*"—Money is termed, and said to be that, (be it what it may,) of which we at once know the value, by merely looking at, and in consequence of some particular or peculiar impress, or mark, legally placed, or stamped thereon, and for the knowledge of which we are not obliged to have recourse to scales, or weights, or other means of information, unless we doubt such test, or value, or have a suspicion of fraud: Such is the character of money certainly, but, we must remember, that such are our present modern notions, and improved refined ideas of money, and that which has been, among civilized and polished nations, most probably, its supposition, or interpretation, through all late and perhaps more than mediæval times: It must however be borne in mind, that in very early, and ruder times, when it is supposed this ring-money and jewel-currency were formed, and for which, we claim its invention, age, and use, the wants of men were very few indeed, a valuable money-currency could have been but little wanted, or used, we possessed then none of those numerous luxuries, and refinements, which have since become not only the requirements, but the very actual daily necessities of much later, and present times: Plain food and rough cloth-

ing, with, perhaps, the rude instruments of husbandry, and the weapons of the field, the chase, the lake, the forest, and the war, were the only things of which the majority of mankind, and the inhabitants of these islands, thought of, and stood in need: these were at once their only wants, and their only possessions: large numbers, no doubt, depended for such, on a lord, or master, to whom they were but serfs, or slaves, and not on individual exertions as in an after age, a currency of a valuable money was only wanted therefore by the few chiefs, or great men of the day, and for the interchange by them alone of their more valuable possessions, or requirements; and consequently, the progress to a stamped money currency, and its adoption, by many nations, must have been but gradual, and very slow indeed; No doubt, as at the present time, men pride themselves on the number of their acres, or their debentures, in fact, their riches, so, in early times, most probably our simple forefathers boasted of the numbers of their rings, and jewels of gold, the representative value to them of their wealth and possessions: to this, it will be said, Such are not monies, only valuables: but, in answer to this, we say, even for a portion of the humbler and the poorer classes of that far distant day, we also claim an inferior ring-currency, as well as a high and a gold one for the noble and the chief, and which we advance therefore as an additional and irrefragable proof of the money character of all these relics: We find in Ireland the same and similarly-formed rings of silver, of bronze, and even bone, nay, more, we find this very currency, both of the higher, and lower metals, divided for a smaller one, in like manner, as we constantly find, at the present day, in hoards of early coined money, the silver sterling penny divided into two equal parts, for the smaller circulation of

a half-penny ; In my own collections, there exists the exact half of a gold specimen, which had been thus divided for a smaller currency, and which was found, on the 12th of August, 1845, in this state, in a turf-bog, in the county Sligo : It will be seen figured in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, No. 21, March, 1849, volume vi. page 58. I also possess two bronze specimens, found in the county of Cork, a few years since, in an equally, and similarly divided state, with a number of others, in bronze, some entire, and some divided, while I have also three very small specimens of silver, found, during the past year, one in the county of Cork, the others in the county Waterford, which are of a class similar to those of the gold, and bronze, but in a perfect state, they will be found represented, and described, in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, No. 41, March, 1854, volume xi. page 59. No doubt, iron specimens existed also, but, these, like the Spartan iron money of *Lycurgus*, have long since perished, *Cæsar's* words imply as much, let us take them in whatever sense or form we may choose to interpret them, they existed, then, in England, as well as, and with coined money, which was, no doubt, but very limited, and in circulation with them, or he would not have even thus alluded to them.—

For what reasons, therefore, and why, the supposition of this earliest of money, this weighed money, adjusted, or "*examined to a certain weight*," with its double purpose, also, of use, and ornament, should be thus so cavilled at, disputed, denied, and termed a "mere creature of the imagination," because it possesses not an impress, or a mark, the invention of a later age, I know not, unless it be to bring forth, and produce greater and more abundant proofs of its truth, authenticity, and reality, neither can I otherwise, or by any means, conclude such as either reasonable,

or fair: Did it merely consist of, and exist in gold, alone, it might be so considered, perhaps, and deemed with some degree of justice, and reason, but, where, we still find, in Ireland, at least, that it existed in all the metals, inferior as well as precious, we ought to pause, and greatly hesitate ere we apply such terms and epithets, till future discoveries perhaps afforded us a better clue and means of discarding the subject with more certainty of success.

The existence of a like currency, at the present day, in Africa, so ably argued, defended, and disputed for, by Mr. Dickinson, is considered by us, in Ireland, the advocates of a ring-money currency, as an additional proof and evidence of its ancient date, the continuance among that simple, unchanged, and as yet unchanging people, of a custom handed down to them, from earlier days, perhaps, by their forefathers from times immemorial: Still, however, I cannot allow him to assume, as he certainly has done most unwarrantably, and without the slightest shadow of proof, or even an attempt at such, in his "Defence of Ring-Money,"¹ that any portion of the gold rings, found in Ireland, though in one single type or form, ever so like, and similar to the present African ring-currency, have been merely the importations of ancient days from that country: That would be truly to allow a deadly slur to be cast on a series as yet, untrammelled with, unsullied, and unpolluted, and to assent to an assumption of antiquity, at the expense of our hitherto undisputed relics, which, Mr. Dickinson has surely made in ignorance, or from some isolated specimen, or two, which have come under his notice, and from not taking into one grand and comprehensive review, as he might have

¹ Numismatic Chronicle, February, 1854, No. 63, Volume XVI. pages 163 and 164.

done, had he visited the Dublin Exhibition, or may still do, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, in Dublin, where, I can assure him, he will meet with every kindness, and attention, the whole series of the wonderful mysterious and magnificent gold ornaments of Ireland, of which no other country age or nation can produce or boast a similar or so superb a series, and through every class and portion of which, the intelligent, inquiring, truth-seeking, and reflecting antiquary can trace a connecting link, and for which peculiar class, in the absence among the African of scarcely any second type, or form, it is by far much more reasonably the truth, and the fact, to suppose, and to assert, that the Irish specimens have been the original, and the invention, and may more probably have given rise to the copy, or imitation, and not that they have been merely the importation. Again the penannular formation of this currency has been considered, by Mr. Dickinson, as the result of an unaltered habit, and custom, once adopted, and still adhered to: I am not yet altogether quite satisfied regarding this interpretation of the invention, or reason of the penannular formation, which, we find adopted in nearly all the early jewel, and other ornaments of Ireland, I rather think it arose from unknown Pagan religious, or mystic rites, of which, it was the symbol, and represents more than we, at present, suppose, or think, and which is still to be found, thus continued amongst some Eastern ornamental objects of the present day.

That this penannular currency existed, formerly, in England, and elsewhere, as well as in Ireland, I doubt not, in the slightest: recent discoveries have brought many specimens to light, agreeing, in most respects, with the ring-money of Ireland, of which several examples were lately exhibited in the Antiquarian Department of the Dublin

Exhibition, others will be found figured, and described, in the Journals of the Archæological Institute, and in other publications; There are many reasons why fewer specimens should be found in England, than in Ireland, perhaps, among the chiefest, may have been the invasion of the Romans, and their lengthened occupation of Britain, that enterprising people having always endeavoured to implant upon their conquered nations, their own habits, customs, arts, and institutions, and to efface altogether those formerly existing in the countries they subdued, in addition to which, the higher state of the cultivation of the lands of England, in former times, having, no doubt, drained away many other valuable specimens, in after periods, when antiquities were little thought of, preserved, or regarded, while the uncultivated tracts of many parts of Ireland, in its secluded, and distant situation, free from the Roman visitation, and its numerous and valuable turf-bogs, which have been, and indeed still are, alas! almost our only but best museums, have been the means of securing, and preserving for us, the precious relics, and the numerous and various remains of many a now dark distant and bygone age.

With these observations I append a Descriptive Catalogue of a very large number of specimens of Celto-Irish Gold Ring-money, together with that of other interesting gold ornaments of many and various classes, nearly all of which have come under my own notice and observation, during a few years past; I have given their descriptions, exact weights, the cabinets, or collections, in which, they are to be found, or the names of their possessors, also, as far as I have been able to do so correctly, and with certainty, the places and the periods of the discovery of several of them, together with references to the works, in which, some of

them have been described, figured, and engraved ; The ring-portion are all of the penannular form unless otherwise stated, and all are of the finest and purest standard of gold ; had I supposed this subject should have become one of such extreme interest, and intense excitement, I might have considerably encreased this list, as I have met with very many other specimens, but the particulars of which I have not preserved : Those of the Royal Irish Academy, I took from the specimens themselves, as labelled, and weighed, by Doctor Aquilla Smith, M. R. I. A., and as exhibited in the Antiquarian Court of the Dublin Industrial Exhibition, last year : For those of the British Museum I am indebted to Mr. Dickinson, who kindly procured them for me, through Mr. Hawkins, the keeper of the Antiquities, in that Institution : A few of those, which I have given, as belonging to the late Mr. Redmond Anthony, of Piltown, in the county of Kilkenny, may be the same as some of those now in the British Museum, as, after his decease, that Institution obtained the greater portion of those which were at that time in his possession, but, as he was constantly dealing in antiquities, and coins, and other objects, I have thought it best to give the particulars of all those I saw with him, and examined, and which was several years previous to his decease. All the others are in the private collections, or cabinets named, as I have myself either seen them, or have been correctly informed of ; For future writers, on this subject of ring-money, this list may be of much use, and importance, and it is chiefly indeed for their benefit and reference, I have drawn it up ; It will be seen a certain graduated scale, a multiple of twelve, or six grains, has, with certain other proportions, been very generally, though not exclusively, adhered to : If not for the purposes of a currency, why this adherence

to a certainly seeming gradation of weight, or for what other purposes, can such have been thus the intention, if not for that of a weighed lawful money character, or currency?—

EDWARD HOARE.

Cork, May-day, 1854.

Descriptive Catalogue of Celto-Irish Gold Ring-Money, together with various other gold objects of the same period, and supposed, by many, to have been used, as a media of exchange, as well, also, as articles for the purposes of use and ornament.

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|----------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | Plain gold ring, cleft or penannular. | 12grs. | |
| | | | (Late Sir William Betham.) |
| 2 | _____ | 14grs. | |
| | | | (Royal Irish Academy.) |
| 3 | _____ | 18grs. | |
| | | | (Late Mr. R. Anthony.) |
| 4 | _____ | 24grs. | do. |
| 5 | _____ | 24grs. | do. |
| 6 | _____ | 24grs. | |
| | | | (Late Sir William Betham.) |
| 7 | _____ | 28·2grs. | |
| | | | (British Museum.) |
| 8 | _____ | 29·2grs. | do. |
| 9 | _____ | 30grs. | |
| | | | (Edward Hoare, Esq., of Cork.) |

This specimen was found in a turf-bog near Ballinasloe, in the County Galway, during the month of August, 1843. It is engraved and described in the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, No. 19, October, 1848, vol. v. pp. 218 and 219.

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| 10 | Plain gold ring, cleft or penannular. | 36grs. | |
| | | | (Late Mr. R. Anthony.) |
| 11 | _____ | 1dwt. 12grs. | |
| | | | (Royal Irish Academy.) |
| 12 | _____ | 1dwt. 16grs. | do. |
| 13 | _____ | 1dwt. 16grs. | do. |
-

14	Plain gold ring, cleft or penannular.	2dwts. 6grs.	
		(Royal Irish Academy.)	
15	_____	2dwts. 11grs.	do.
16	_____	2dwts. 17grs.	do.
17	_____	3dwts. 12grs.	do.
18	_____	3dwts. 17grs.	do.
19	_____	4dwts.	
		(Late Mr. R. Anthony.)	
20	_____	5dwts.	do.
21	_____	5dwts. 10grs.	

(Edward Hoare, Esq., of Cork.)

This specimen was found during the month of July, 1846, in the celebrated bog of Allen, in the County of Tipperary, a few miles to the north of Cashel, "*the city of the kings*"; it will be found engraved and described in the Journal of the Archæological Institute, No. 19, October, 1848, vol. v. pp. 218 and 219.

22	Plain gold ring, cleft or penannular.	276grs.	
		(Royal Irish Academy.)	
23	_____	10dwts. 20grs.	do.
24	_____	56grs.	(British Museum.)
25	_____	91·7grs.	do.
26	_____	121·1grs.	do.
27	_____	121·4grs.	do.
28	_____	217·9grs.	do.
29	_____	219grs.	do.
30	_____	224grs.	do.
31	_____	294·3grs.	do.
32	_____	323·4grs.	do.
33	_____	389·7grs.	do.
34	_____	1oz. 82·5grs.	do.
35	_____	3dwts. 6grs.	
		(Late Mr. R. Anthony.)	
36	_____	5dwts. 12grs.	
		(Late Mr. R. Anthony.)	
37	_____	6dwts.	
		(Edward Hoare, Esq., of Cork.)	
38	_____	7dwts.	
		(Late Mr. R. Anthony.)	
39	_____	8dwts.	do.
40	_____	10dwts.	do.
41	_____	10dwts. 10grs.	do.
42	_____	1oz.	do.

- 43 Plain gold ring, cleft or penannular. 6dwts. 7grs.
(Royal Irish Academy.)
- 44 _____ 6dwts. 23grs. do.
- 45 Cleft or penannular gold ring, ornamented with black striæ.
422·4grs. (British Museum.)
- 46 _____ 288·2grs. do.
- 47 _____ 139·7grs. do.
- 48 _____ 7dwts. 12grs.
(Edward Hoare, Esq., of Cork.)

This specimen was found near Swords, in the County of Dublin, in 1853.

- 49 Cleft or penannular gold ring, ornamented with black striæ.
16dwts. 10grs. (John Evans, Esq., of Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead, County of Herts.)

This specimen was found in the County of Louth, not far from the town of Drogheda, in March, 1853.

- 50 Cleft or penannular gold ring, ornamented with black striæ.
5dwts. 1gr. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 51 _____ 7dwts. 11grs. do.
- 52 _____ 8dwts. 14grs. do.
- 53 _____ 10dwts. 19grs. do.
- 54 _____ 12dwts. 6grs. do.
- 55 Penannular gold ring, with pointed ends, and of a beaded type. 2dwts. 5grs. (Edward Hoare, Esq., of Cork.)

This specimen was found in a turf-bog, five feet below the surface, near Macroom, in the County of Cork, October 15th, 1843. It is engraved and described in the Numismatic Chronicle, April, 1844, No. 24, Vol. VII. p. 1—4; engraved also in the Journal of the Archæological Institute, No. 6, June, 1845, vol. ii. p. 198.

- 56 Penannular gold ring, with pointed ends, and of a beaded type. 4dwts. (Sir Robert Bateson, Bart., of Belvoir Park, County of Antrim.)

This specimen was found in the County of Antrim, near Belfast. It is engraved and described in the Numismatic Chronicle, April, 1844, No. 24, vol. vii. p. 2; engraved also in the Journal of the Archæological Institute, No. 21, March, 1849, vol. vi. p. 58.

- 57 Penannular gold ring, with pointed ends, and of a beaded type. 6dwts. 7grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 58 _____ 7dwts. 4grs. do.

- 59 Penannular gold ring, with pointed ends, and of a beaded type. 8dwts. 17grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
 60 ————— 11dwts. 19grs. do.
 61 ————— 1oz. 12dwts. 6grs. do.
 62 ————— with pointed end, and of a twisted type. 2dwts. 12grs. (Edward Hoare, Esq., of Cork.)

This ring was found on the 12th of August, 1845, in a turf-bog, in the County of Sligo. It had been cut into two parts, and divided for smaller circulation, being the exact half, and, when entire, must have weighed five pennyweights. See a notice of it in the Numismatic Chronicle, January, 1849, No. 43, Vol. XI. p. 162; it is also engraved in the Journal of the Archæological Institute, No. 21, March, 1849, vol. vi. p. 58.

- 63 Penannular gold ring, with pointed ends, and of a twisted type. 2dwts. 7grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
 64 ————— 3dwts. 9grs. do.
 65 ————— 5dwts. do.
 66 ————— slightly bulbed and found near Cork. 2dwts. 10grs. (William Binley Dickinson, Esq., of Leamington.)
 67 ————— 6dwts. 12grs. (Edward Hoare, Esq., of Cork.)

This ring was found near Doneraile, in the County of Cork, in 1852.

- 68 A gold twisted bar, a fragment. 8dwts. (Royal Irish Academy.)
 69 A hank of twisted wires, a fragment. 5dwts 15grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
 70 A bracelet of twisted or knotted wire-work, a fragment. 6dwts. 1gr. (Royal Irish Academy.)
 71 A small twisted gold bracelet or collar, penannular. 17dwts. (Late Mr. R. Anthony.)
 72 A ribbed, cleft, or penannular gold ring. 9dwts. (Royal Irish Academy.)
 73 A penannular gold ring, in the form of a horse-shoe. 16dwts. (Late Mr. R. Anthony.)

This specimen was found in the County of Clare. See a notice of it in the Numismatic Chronicle, April, 1844, No. 24, vol. vii. p. 4.

- 74 A penannular gold ring, in shape an octagon, with a star and a cross engraved on it. 4dwts. (Late Mr. R. Anthony.)

The engraving has been the work of a much later period.

- 75 A penannular gold ring, oval and flat, and lapsed together rudely in both ends. 4dwts. (Late Mr. R. Anthony.)

Noticed in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, in which work also, at p. 310 of vol. i., will be seen a notice of a specimen of Gold Ring-money, in the form of a volute, belonging to the late Mr. R. Anthony, and which was discovered in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny.

- 76 A gold ring, penannular, with pointed ends and crescent-shaped, and with the centre portion carved or ribbed with lines lengthways. 1dwt. 2grs.
(Late Mr. R. Anthony.)

This ring was found near Dublin. See an engraving of it in the Numismatic Chronicle, April, 1844, No. 24, vol. vii. p. 2. In the Journal of the Archæological Institute, No. 37, March, 1853, vol. x. pp. 73 and 74, will be seen an engraving and description of another ring of the same crescent-like type precisely as the above, but plain, and without the ribbed centre portion. It was found in County of Limerick, in 1844, with three other penannular gold rings of the armillæ type, and four penannular gold capsule beads, all also engraved with it, but of none of which the weights could be obtained. There are two similarly-formed capsule bead ornaments in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

- 77 Penannular gold ring, fibula shape, and ribbed type. 2dwts. 8grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)

- 78 _____ 2dwts. 17grs. do.

- 79 Similar, but without the ribbed type, and smooth. 2dwts. 13grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)

- 80 Penannular gold ring, fibula-shape, of a ribbed pattern, and with slightly expanded ends. 4dwts. 7grs.
(Royal Irish Academy.)

- 81 _____ 7dwts. 11grs. do.

- 82 _____ 7dwts. 12grs. do.

- 83 _____ 17dwts. 7grs. do.

- 84 _____ fibula-shape, of a ribbed pattern, and with expanded disks. 8dwts. 6grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)

- 85 _____ 8dwts. 7grs. do.

- 86 _____ 10dwts. 12grs. do.

- 87 _____ 11dwts. 22grs. do.

- 88 _____ 13dwts. 17grs. do.

- 89 Penannular gold ring, fibula-shape, of a ribbed pattern, and with expanded disks. 13dwts. 20grs.

(Royal Irish Academy.)

90 _____ 1oz. 5dwts. do.

91 _____ 1oz. 7dwts. 7grs. do.

92 _____ 4oz. 15dwts. 19grs. do.

93 _____ with flat disks. 1oz. 326grs.

(British Museum.)

94 _____ 1oz. 114·8grs. do.

95 _____ 282·7grs. do.

96 _____ 248 7grs. do.

- 97 Penannular gold ring, in shape a bracelet, and in circumference of the bar a triangular shape. 1oz. 5dwts.

(Mr. John Haynes, of Cork.)

This specimen was found, with a large number of other gold objects, in the County of Clare, in March, 1854.

- 98 Penannular gold bracelet, ornamented at the ends with ornaments like a chevron. 3oz. 15dwts. 4grs.

(Royal Irish Academy.)

- 99 _____ a round bar, ornamented with a number of circular indentations. 2oz. 1dwt. 5grs.

(Royal Irish Academy.)

- 100 _____ a circular gold bar. 16dwts. 17grs.

(Royal Irish Academy.)

- 101 _____ a flat gold bar. 1oz. 11dwts. 13grs.

(Royal Irish Academy.)

102 _____ 1oz. 8dwts. 12grs. do.

103 _____ 14dwts. 8grs. do.

104 _____ 11dwts. 6grs. do.

- 105 _____ round bar with the ends slightly expanded. 4oz. 11dwts. 3grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)

106 _____ 2oz. 9dwts. do.

107 _____ 1oz. 11dwts. 17grs. do.

108 _____ 1oz. 9dwts. 20grs. do.

109 _____ 1oz. 3dwts. 5grs. do.

110 _____ 1oz. 7grs. do.

111 _____ 9dwts. 3grs. do.

112 _____ 8dwts. 18grs. do.

113 _____ 8dwts. 11grs. do.

114 _____ 7dwts. 11grs. do.

- 115 _____ the ends largely expanded. 2oz. 17dwts. 1gr. (Royal Irish Academy.)

- 116 Similar, but with the ends bent. 1oz. 17grs. do.

- 117 Similar to No. 115, but flattened in the centre. 16dwts. 16grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 118 Similar, but convoluted into the shape of the letter C. 7dwts. 14grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 119 Penannular gold bracelet or fibula, a solid round bar, with cone-shaped ends. 2oz. 15dwts. 7grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 120 ————— 2oz. 6dwts. 20grs. do.
- 121 ————— 1oz. 8dwts. 22grs. do.
- 122 ————— 11dwts. 19grs. do.
- 123 Similar, a solid thin gold bar, but with large cups at the ends, 17dwts. 13grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 124 Penannular gold bracelet or fibula, with trumpet or cone-shaped ends or cups, but made of a hollow gold bar and plain. 3oz. 5dwts. 22grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 125 Similar, but ornamented with chevrons. 2oz. 16dwts. 5grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 126 Similar, but broken. 1oz. 14dwts. 12grs. do.
- 127 Similar, but with a thread-like ornament. 1oz. 4dwts. 8grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 128 Penannular gold bracelet or fibula, the centre portion of a solid gold bar, and with large expanded cups at the ends, round. 4oz. 11dwts. 2grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 129 Similar, but angular. 3oz. 18dwts. 19grs. do.
- 130 Similar, but flat. 3oz. 6dwts. 12grs. do.
- 131 Similar, but circular. 2oz. 16dwts. 1gr. do.
- 132 Similar, but the cups very round and small. 1oz. 2dwts. 7grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 133 Similar in every respect. 16dwts. 10grs. do.
- 134 Similar, but very flat. 1oz. 1gr. do.
- 135 Penannular gold bracelet or fibula, with cup-shaped ends. 2oz. 178grs. (British Museum.)
- 136 ————— 3dwts. 123grs. do.
- 137 ————— 1oz. 267grs. do.
- 138 ————— 413grs. do.
- 139 ————— 1oz. 53grs. do.
- 140 ————— 3oz. 6grs. do.
- 141 ————— 1oz. 471grs. do.
- 142 ————— a fragment. 5oz. 120grs. do.
- 143 ————— 2oz. 60grs. do.
- 144 ————— 1oz. 366grs. do.
- 145 ————— 2oz. 134grs. do.
- 146 ————— 218grs. do.
- 147 ————— 2oz. 69grs. do.
- 148 ————— 1oz. 313grs. do.

- 149 Penannular gold bracelet or fibula, with cup-shaped ends.
420grs. (British Museum.)

150	_____	272grs.	do.
151	_____	1oz. 240grs.	do.
152	_____	435grs.	do.
153	_____	338grs.	do.
154	_____	479grs.	do.
155	_____	3oz. 24grs.	do.
156	_____	261grs.	do.

- 157 A large solid gold penannular ring, with large cup-shaped ends. 3oz. 5dwts. 12grs. (Late Mr. R. Anthony.)

This specimen was found in 1843, near Bearhaven, in the County of Cork.

- 158 A large and massive solid gold penannular ring, with trumpet-shaped ends. 3oz. 13dwts. 4grs.
(Late Mr. R. Anthony.)

Found at Castle-Troy, near Limerick, in 1845. It was purchased at Mr. Anthony's sale by Lord Hastings for £14.

- 159 A very large and massive hollow engraved and ornamented gold fibula, or torc-armilla, penannular, and with small trumpet-shaped ends. 3oz. 5dwts. 6grs.
(Late Mr. R. Anthony.)

This specimen was found, during the early part of 1843, at Brahalish, near Bantry, in the County of Cork. It is engraved and described in the Journal of the Archaeological Institute, No. 21, March, 1849, vol. vi. p. 60.

- 60 Penannular gold bracelet or fibula, a solid bar, and with large expanded trumpet or cup-shaped ends. 2oz. 18dwts. 12grs. (Mr. John Donegan, of Dublin.)
- 161 _____ injured and broken. 1oz.
4dwts. 12grs. (Mr. John Donegan, of Dublin.)
- 162 _____ or armlet, a flat and hollow bar.
2oz. 11dwts. 7grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 163 _____ a hollow and half-round
bar. 4oz. 7dwts. 1gr. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 164 _____ a broad flat bar. 10dwts.
20grs. (Thomas Tobin, Esq., F.S.A., of Ballincollig,
County of Cork.)

Found at Ahinagh, in the County of Cork, in June, 1851.

- 165 A very large penannular gold hollow bracelet, with expanded cups at the ends. 16oz. 17dwts. 4grs.
(Royal Irish Academy.)
- 166 A crossed end of a gold bracelet. 1 oz. 11grs. do.
- 167 A large gold bracelet, with hollow bar, and not closed at the ends. 5oz. 5dwts. 16grs. (Mr. West, of Dublin.)
- 168 A penannular gold bracelet, formed of three bars twisted and bound together. 13oz. 1dwt. 1gr.
(Royal Irish Academy.)
- 169 An ingot of gold, in form like a house-brick. 8oz.
(The Rev. Mr. Townsend, of Derry, County of Cork.)

This relic was found, with a large number of others, rings, armillæ, etc., in the year 1840, in the neighbourhood of Dunmanway, in the County of Cork; but it is believed, that, with the exception of this specimen, all the others were shortly afterwards melted down.

- 170 An ingot of gold. 12dwts. 9grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 171 A scrap of gold, a fragment. 3dwts. 12grs. do.
- 172 A gold Torc ring, not penannular, but of a twisted and platted form. 8dwts. 6grs. (Late Mr. R. Anthony.)

See a notice of this relic, which was found near Waterford, in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, No. 18, June, 1848, vol. v. p. 154; engraved also in the *Journal of the same Society*, No. 21, March, 1849, vol. vi. p. 58.

- 173 A gold bracelet or armilla, not penannular, and of a twisted pattern. 1oz. 15dwts. 6grs. (Late Mr. R. Anthony.)

This relic was found at Virginia, in the County of Cavan, in the year 1833. It will be seen engraved and described in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, No. 18, June, 1848, vol. v. p. 154.

- 174 A twisted and platted gold ring, not penannular, but of a length of gold rolled round in the form of a ring. 3dwts. 17grs. (Zachariah C. Hawkes, Esq., of Moneens, Bandon, County of Cork.)

This relic was purchased in Bandon. It is engraved and described in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, No. 18, June, 1848, vol. v. p. 155.

- 175 A gold ring, penannular, and the ends then joined, being formed of a length of gold cast and bent round in the

them have been described, figured, and engraved ; The ring-portion are all of the penannular form unless otherwise stated, and all are of the finest and purest standard of gold ; had I supposed this subject should have become one of such extreme interest, and intense excitement, I might have considerably encreased this list, as I have met with very many other specimens, but the particulars of which I have not preserved : Those of the Royal Irish Academy, I took from the specimens themselves, as labelled, and weighed, by Doctor Aquilla Smith, M. R. I. A., and as exhibited in the Antiquarian Court of the Dublin Industrial Exhibition, last year : For those of the British Museum I am indebted to Mr. Dickinson, who kindly procured them for me, through Mr. Hawkins, the keeper of the Antiquities, in that Institution : A few of those, which I have given, as belonging to the late Mr. Redmond Anthony, of Piltown, in the county of Kilkenny, may be the same as some of those now in the British Museum, as, after his decease, that Institution obtained the greater portion of those which were at that time in his possession, but, as he was constantly dealing in antiquities, and coins, and other objects, I have thought it best to give the particulars of all those I saw with him, and examined, and which was several years previous to his decease. All the others are in the private collections, or cabinets named, as I have myself either seen them, or have been correctly informed of ; For future writers, on this subject of ring-money, this list may be of much use, and importance, and it is chiefly indeed for their benefit and reference, I have drawn it up ; It will be seen a certain graduated scale, a multiple of twelve, or six grains, has, with certain other proportions, been very generally, though not exclusively, adhered to : If not for the purposes of a currency, why this adherence

to a certainly seeming gradation of weight, or for what other purposes, can such have been thus the intention, if not for that of a weighed lawful money character, or currency?—

EDWARD HOARE.

Cork, May-day, 1854.

Descriptive Catalogue of Celto-Irish Gold Ring-Money, together with various other gold objects of the same period, and supposed, by many, to have been used, as a media of exchange, as well, also, as articles for the purposes of use and ornament.

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|----------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | Plain gold ring, cleft or penannular. | 12grs. | |
| | | | (Late Sir William Betham.) |
| 2 | _____ | 14grs. | |
| | | | (Royal Irish Academy.) |
| 3 | _____ | 18grs. | |
| | | | (Late Mr. R. Anthony.) |
| 4 | _____ | 24grs. | do. |
| 5 | _____ | 24grs. | do. |
| 6 | _____ | 24grs. | |
| | | | (Late Sir William Betham.) |
| 7 | _____ | 28·2grs. | |
| | | | (British Museum.) |
| 8 | _____ | 29·2grs. | do. |
| 9 | _____ | 30grs. | |
| | | | (Edward Hoare, Esq., of Cork.) |

This specimen was found in a turf-bog near Ballinasloe, in the County Galway, during the month of August, 1843. It is engraved and described in the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, No. 19, October, 1848, vol. v. pp. 218 and 219.

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| 10 | Plain gold ring, cleft or penannular. | 36grs. | |
| | | | (Late Mr. R. Anthony.) |
| 11 | _____ | 1dwt. 12grs. | |
| | | | (Royal Irish Academy.) |
| 12 | _____ | 1dwt. 16grs. | do. |
| 13 | _____ | 1dwt. 16grs. | do. |
-

- 218 A fillet of gold, narrow and ornamented with a dotted pattern.
1dwt. 2grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 219 A gold fibula, with a pendant ring-ornament. 3dwts. 14grs.
(Royal Irish Academy.)
- 220 Another and similar. 2dwts. 12grs. do.
- 221 A gold skewer or pin of a very rude form. 1oz. 17dwts. 6grs.
(Royal Irish Academy.)
- 222 A gold circular disk or spangle, with a cross-shaped ornament large and flat. 13dwts. 20grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 223 ————— and similar. 13dwts. 10grs. do.
- 224 ————— but smaller and thinner. 4dwts. 12grs.
(Royal Irish Academy.)
- 225 ————— but ornamented with a cross formed of triangles, imperfect. 2dwts. 2grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 226 A bulla, of a hollow ball-shape, formed of lead, and covered with thin gold plate, and highly ornamented. 2oz. 6dwts. 10grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 227 ————— heart-shaped, hollow, and of lead, and covered with thin gold plate, and highly ornamented. 4oz. 14dwts. 12grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 228 Similar, but slightly ornamented, and not angular. 1dwt. 1gr. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 229 to 235. Seven gold beads, shaped like double cones, weighing from nine to eleven grains each. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 236 to 242. Seven gold beads, shaped like those last, but expanded at their ends, and weighing from 1dwt. 4grs. to 1dwt. 10grs. each. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 243 to 249. Seven gold beads or cylinders, weighing from five to seven grains each. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 250 A gold cup-shaped ornament, imperfect. 16dwts. 2grs.
(Royal Irish Academy.)
- 251 An oblong thin plate of gold and plain. 2dwts. 18grs. do.
- 252 ————— 2dwts. 6grs. do.
- 253 ————— 1dwt. 21grs. do.
- 254 ————— 1dwt. 8grs. do.
- 255 An oblong plate of thin gold with a hook attached. 4dwts. 2grs. (Royal Irish Academy.)
- 256 ————— 3dwts. 17grs. do.
- 257 ————— ribbed. 2dwts. 4grs. do.
- 258 ————— 2dwts. 5grs. do.
- 259 ————— 1dwt. 18grs. do.
- 260 ————— 1dwt. 18grs. do.
- 261 Fragments of thin gold spirals with hooks, and apparently of neck or arm ornaments. 2oz. 13dwts. 15grs.
(Royal Irish Academy.)

- 262 A collar or gorget of red gold, ornamented with three ribs, and dotted with a nail-head pattern, broken into four pieces. 16oz. 11dwts. (Royal Irish Academy.)
-

P.S. I purpose (*deo volente*) to continue this Descriptive Catalogue and List at some future period, should opportunities for so doing offer; and, in the interim, I would feel obliged, if collectors who have any specimens of these singular relics of the bygone days of Ireland in their possession or cabinets, would favour me with correct and accurate particulars of them, and, if possible, a little sketch or drawing, so that I may be able to describe them without a possibility of mistake.

EDWARD HOARE.

XII.

SUGGESTIONS ON AN UNPUBLISHED SHILLING OF QUEEN ANNE OF THE SECOND ISSUE OF THE EDINBURGH MINT, BEING AN ATTEMPT TO RECONCILE THE DATE OF THE COIN WITH THE TRADITIONARY TALE AS TO THE CAUSE OF SUCH SECOND ISSUE.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, 26th January, 1854.]

OF the two events, not uninteresting to numismatists, as connected with the reign of Queen Anne, viz. (1), the alteration made in the armorial bearings on the reverse of the coins of both the English and Scottish mints, conse-

quent on the formal union of the two kingdoms, and (2) the cessation of the working of the Scottish mint (1709), it is not the purport of the present paper to consider.

One or two facts, however, connected with the coinage of the latter mint, it is considered may be not altogether undeserving of a passing notice, the more especially as there exists one piece which is altogether unnoticed (it is believed) by any numismatic writer, viz., a Shilling of the Edinburgh mint, having for date and mark 1707 E*.¹

The fact, then, that Queen Anne's shilling of the Edinburgh mint with the very rare and unusual date and mark of 1707 E* has hitherto escaped the notice of numismatic writers, would seem to render it desirable, in directing attention to it, that some little examination should be made into what is already published with respect to this mint, and then that it should be considered whether this new variety offers any and what difficulty to such received account, whether, in short, it is capable of a satisfactory explanation in aid of the tale recorded in connexion with what is termed the second issue in the above reign from the Edinburgh mint.

From Snelling, nothing can be gleaned; he merely

¹ In the month of February, 1849, in looking over the cabinet of Mr. H. O. Cureton, my attention was attracted to some few bright-looking shillings of Queen Anne (being part of a recent purchase of coins), with E* under the bust; and, finding that they bore the peculiar date of 1707, I suggested, on purchasing one, the propriety of a specimen being kept for the British Museum and Mr. Marshall, of Birmingham. If I am correctly informed, the Museum did not previously possess one. Mr. Marshall, however, I found had, some months before, already procured one, though in poor condition, viz., Lot 282, Maydwell's Sale, in March, 1848, in the Catalogue of which, however, no particular remark was made respecting it.

states, that the pieces of the Edinburgh mint are distinguished by having E or E* under the bust.

Ruding, in his *Annals* (Edin. 1840, vol ii. p. 62), however, against the date 1707, thus records:

“The losses which private persons might sustain by reducing the coin of Scotland to the standard and value of the coin of England, were to be made good out of a fund created by the 15th article of the Union; and by a statute of the 7th of Anne, £1200 were to be allowed out of the coinage duty, for the expenses of the mints of Scotland.

“In consequence of these regulations, all the old silver money was presently called into the mint, to be re-coined into sterling money, the same as the English; and the crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences which were then struck, bearing date 1707 and 1708, are to be distinguished from those coined in England, only by the letter E, for Edinburgh, stamped upon them under her Majesty’s bust.

“There was upon this occasion brought into the Mint at Edinburgh to be re-coined in the year 1707 of silver monies then current in Scotland, over and above what is usually hoarded up and laid by in like cases, which was by the silversmiths converted into plate and bullion, and some thousand pounds that came in afterwards, the value of £411,117 10s. 9d. sterling, as I learn from the excellent and judicious preface prefixed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman to Mr. James Anderson’s *Thesaurus Diplomatum et Numismaticum Scoticè*. But all this last mentioned sum was *not* coined at that time, as the same learned person further informs us; for the *invasion* which happened near the end of the year 1707, made it necessary to issue again for common use a great number of the 40s. pieces Scottish, and of the other coins of that sort that had been brought

into the mint just before. Besides which £40,000 sterling in English milled money, that they included in the account, had no occasion to be re-coined; and this is the reason why the sum formerly mentioned to have been minted at Edinburgh by the English moneyers sent from the Tower to instruct those in Scotland in the usages of the English mint, was so much less than the sum last said to have been brought into the mint at Scotland."

And under date 1708, Ruding adds (p. 64):

"In this year, after the apprehensions of invasion were at an end, the forty-shilling pieces, Scottish, and the other coins of that sort, which had been brought to the mint at Edinburgh, but which had been issued again from the necessity of that time, were called a second time into the mint, and re-coined into sterling money, the same as the English.

"These coins were distinguished from those coined in 1707 by a mullet of six points, which was placed after the letter E under the Queen's bust. They are the *last* coins struck in Scotland. . . ."²

Mr. Marshall (*Milled Money*, 1838), in his work at p. 18 of his Introduction, has nearly the same story, save that he *omits* mention of a sixpence, 1708 E, and *adds* the date 1709, and thus concludes:—"This second coinage is distinguished from the former one by a mullet of six points (*), which is placed after the letter E under the Queen's bust: they consist only of shillings and sixpences, dated 1708, and shillings in 1709; and on the shilling struck in 1709 the mullet or star is much smaller than on

² This edition of Ruding (1840) has not, it will be seen, taken advantage of the *Work on Milled Coins* by Mr. Marshall, of date 1838, to correct the omission as to the shilling of 1709 E*.

those in 1708, and on many of them is so very faint as to be scarcely perceptible . . .”

Referring now to the work of Mr. Hawkins (1841), it will be found, that his Tabular Statement (though in the text he is not so clear as to the existence of a sixpence, 1708 E*) is as follows, which coincides with the coins enumerated by Mr. Marshall.

1707 . E under bust	Crown. +	Hf-Crown. +	Shilling. +	Sixpence. +
1708 . E . .	+	+	+	
1708 . E* . .			+	+
1709 . E* . .			+	

Mr. Lindsay, however, in his “ View of the Coinage of Scotland” (1845), in adopting Ruding’s account, mentions, that both in the British Museum and in his own Collection is to be found a sixpence, 1708 E (see pp. 68, 213).

To the Tabular Statement of Mr. Hawkins, therefore, must be added the shilling under discussion, viz. 1707 E*.³

The important question now arises, as to whether the existence of this new shilling interferes at all with the legend of the second issue from the Edinburgh mint, as narrated by Ruding. And it would be very hard, to be obliged to give up the story. A brief examination, how-

³ As also the sixpence 1708 E. I may add, too, that the mullet or star on this shilling of 1707 E* appears to consist of five points only, though this may have arisen from being badly struck. And there is another peculiarity which I do not find in any other of Ann’s shillings, viz., there is no point or dot over the bust, between the words DEI and GRATIA.

ever, will, it is submitted, serve to show, that it possibly is not irreconcilable with the date 1707.

Various causes, which are needless here to mention, produced in many quarters those elements of disaffection against the recent union of the two kingdoms, which rose almost into open rebellion, as well in England as in Scotland. Taking advantage of these circumstances, and aided by assistance from the French Court, an expedition was fitted out from Dunkirk, under the command of the Chevalier de Forbin, the young Pretender himself accompanying it, and of whom it is said (Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*): "Anticipating the functions of sovereignty, he created a master of the Scottish mint, and even issued orders for the regulation of a new coinage." From the same authority we find, that the Duke of Marlborough had early information of these warlike preparations, the authority for which is a letter of the gallant Duke's, of date "17 Feb., 1708"; and history records the arrival off Edinburgh of the French fleet on the 23rd of March following. Alarmed, however, by the appearance of the British fleet under Sir George Byng, the Pretender withdrew, and the *intended* invasion came to an end. The alarm, therefore, caused to the nation by the threatened invasion must speedily have ceased; and it is natural to suppose, that the "Scottish Money" re-issued in the old form on account of the emergency was soon called in again, and that the issue of the new money coined therefrom as speedily as possible followed.

Now the apparent discrepancy in *dates* would be reconciled if we assign Ruddiman's "latter end of 1707" to be reckoned after the *old* style, and the repulsion by the British fleet, stated to have been in "March, 1708," after the *new* style. In other words, as in the old style the new

year was taken to commence on the 25th of March, and that, as in 1752, on the alteration of style, that year was dated back to January, 1751, O.S., the discrepancy would disappear.

The shilling, therefore, marked "1707 E*," if coined from a die made previous to the 24th March, 1707 (old style), would clearly be in time to fit the version cited from Ruding, as to the cause of the two issues from the Edinburgh mint.

And, therefore, although the authority cited by Ruding was unaware of the shilling 1707 E*, as also that of 1709 E*, he may not be incorrect in his legend, and, consequently of the occasion of the two distinguishing marks which these "Scottish" coins bear.

JOSEPH GIBBS, M.A.

Inner Temple, November, 1853.

XIII.

REMARKS ON THE BLUNDERED LEGENDS FOUND UPON THE ANGLO-SAXON COINS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, January 26, 1854.]

HAVING given particular attention for the last four years to the coins of the Anglo-Saxons, I am induced to offer a few suggestions on Article XII., No. 62 of the Numismatic Chronicle: "Uncertain Coins of the Anglo-Saxon period," by M. Thomsen, of Copenhagen.

With regard to these extraordinary numismatic puzzles, I look upon them as *forgeries*, executed in all probability by the Danes, who, History informs us, infested and committed all kinds of depredations in Kent and elsewhere, during the reigns of Ethelred II., Canute, and Edward the Confessor. That the coins were counterfeited to an alarming extent is manifestly certain, or why should such stringent measures have been adopted for the protection of the money in the reigns of Ethelred II. and Canute as are given in Ruding, vol. i. p. 133, line 14, "In the ordinances," etc., and again at p. 137, line 11, "In his laws he provided for the preservation of his money," etc.

M. Thomsen observes, at the 16th line of his article: "They forget also, that if the coiners did not make the dies themselves, they were often obliged to resort to die-makers, who were as ignorant in the knowledge of orthography as they were inaccurate in their profession." I quite agree with the justness of these remarks in part, i. e. so far as relates to the mere transposition or absence of a few letters in the names of the monarchs, moneyers, and towns; but when we meet with coins having legends so strangely metamorphosed as those now exhibited, and Nos. 1, 2, 3, in the Collection of M. Thomsen, I am of opinion then, that they are not the work of illiterate forgers, but rather that of men who had a thorough knowledge of the art they practised; and in support of this assertion, I maintain, that the coiner who could so accurately copy the heads and types of the then circulating money could have just as accurately produced the legends, therefore all such extravagant deviations from the true spelling should rather be considered as an intentional act, than the want of orthographical knowledge.

I will now attempt to explain M. Thomsen's coins, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

No. 1. Type of Ethelred (Hildebrand, tab. 4, D) and Canute (Hildebrand, tab. 4, B).

Obv.—†E⊙EPAD Γ ONCLO+. 1st. part of a cross; 2nd. an E; 3rd. an ⊙, which may be intended for D; 4th. EWAD; the whole put together, EDEWAD: now follows an inverted L, thus Γ, in the place of the R for REX., and the remaining portion of the legend, ONCLO, is certainly equivalent to ANELO.

Rev.—+ETDE⊙LD M^c⊙IUM. The first letter of the town may be intended for L, in which case it would read LVM, possibly *Lyne* in *Kent*.

This coin, if we acknowledge the trifling modifications in the legends, should certainly be classed to Edward the Confessor. Its weight is undoubtedly most remarkable, but I am inclined to consider that rather the result of accident than intention; however, the discovery of others of a corresponding weight might materially assist in coming to a different conclusion. I have had a penny of Ethelred II. clearly reading LVM.

No. 2. Type of Canute (Hild. fig. E).

Obv.—+NVBTEI+. This word contains NVT for LNU^t, and the remaining letters BEI+ may mean REIX for REX: then follows TNELOBVM, the explanation of which can only be *Anglorum*.

Rev.—+INITN N^oO (or MIO) DN. I have a coin precisely similar, which gives MIO for MO as the true reading; next comes DN, perhaps *Thanet* in *Kent*, which at that time was spelled DÆNED.

Admitting that these slight alterations favour the attribution, I shall class coin No. 2 to Canute.

No. 3. Type of Canute (Hild. fig. E).

Obv.—XHEOLFNF + VFONV.EΓ. This appears to read VOL. XVII. O

Heollal Alonuel, and although it sounds somewhat like *Hoel*, the Welsh king, it cannot be classed to him with certainty until other specimens turn up reading more intelligibly; for the present I consider it a blundered coin of Harold, copied from a coin of Canute.

Rev.—+ EN: ☉ E ☉ Δ REVENI, *Gnoe on Reveani* or *Reveni*. I can offer no safe explanation of this legend, but it sounds not very dissimilar to *Rumenea*, now *Romney*, in Kent. This town had the privileges of a mint under Ethelred II., Canute, Harold, etc.

No. 4. This coin is designated by M. Thomsen as “the most remarkable of them all,” and such I should have considered it, but for the D in *Ancdo*, and the extraordinary irregularity of the legend on the reverse. I, therefore, with all due deference to the opinion of so learned a numismatist as M. Thomsen, will venture to offer a different solution of this numismatic enigma. Type as No. 1.

Obv.—+ DÆPIE REX ANDO, allowing the D and Æ to exchange places, we have *Ædivie, Edward*; convert the D in ANDO into an L, and read *Anclo* or *Anglo*. The entire and true reading would then stand *Ædivie Rex Anclo*, which has too striking an analogy to *Edward Rex Anglo* to justify any other attribution at present.

Rev.—+ DNI ONI DNL · I ☉ AI. This legend is perfectly unintelligible to me, and although I have exercised all the ingenuity in my power, still I cannot suggest any word at all approaching Mr. Thomsen's supposed reading VSHLIOAI; and this he conceives may be the same place as VSTLA, a reading of a town mentioned by M. Hildebrand, at page 107, under Ethelred II. M. Thomsen adds, “Which has existed, but—where? With regard to VSTLA, I have no doubt in my own mind that it is intended for VNVESTLVN in Yorkshire, from the fact, that it has the moneyer Ulfetel, who was also a moneyer at York under Ethelred II. Edward the Confessor, and Harold II.

I will now describe the three coins exhibited. They are of a similar character to those I have been endeavouring to explain, but have far more barbarous and confused legends, so bad are they, that it would be absurd to attempt to explain them.

No. 1. Type of Canute (Hild., tab. 6, C).

Obv.—× FRNEVN TIOL· ONI.

Rev.—+ RNLN₂EDIVENII:I. Weight, 16grs.

No. 2. Type of Canute, as No. 1, with a larger head.

Obv.—+ EIDEVIXEILOIE.

Rev.—+ IL⊙E⊙IVM + EV⊙LRVE. Weight, 16 grs.

No. 3. Type of Canute (Hild., E).

Obv.—+ EOTI + NDIEΓIIEXILO.

Rev.—XIVOEIOIFCON). Weight, 20 grains.

W. WEBSTER.

XIV.

ON PONTEFRACT SIEGE PIECES.

20, OLD BOND STREET,

23rd March, 1854.

DEAR SIR,

I SEND for your inspection a Siege-piece of Pontefract Castle, respecting which I shall be happy to have the opinion of the members of the Numismatic Society; it is so much above the usual weight of these pieces, that it is

evidently intended for a higher value than any that has yet been met with, so far as I have been able to ascertain. The only specimens which have been engraved are square and octangular pieces, supposed to represent the value of twelve pence; the former has, on the side of the Castle, XII., instead of the hand and sword.

Ruding, Pl. 29, engraves two of Charles I. and two of Charles II., the weights of which are from 66 to 74 grains. In a note to this work (vol. ii. p. 332) it is stated, "Folkes says that crowns and half-crowns were coined, but shillings only have yet appeared, whose weights are so irregular as to have given rise to the idea that larger pieces were intended; some of them weigh as much as 89 grains." In the place referred to, however, Folkes says nothing about crowns, but speaks only of half-crowns and shillings: his words are, "Whilst the Castle of Pontefract was defended for King Charles I. in 1648, half-crowns were struck there in the form of a lozenge, like those coined at Newark, with shillings also of the same make, and some that were round or eight-cornered." Snelling had heard of half-crowns, but could never procure a drawing of one.

The piece now exhibited weighs 146 grains; it is of the lozenge form, and has on the obverse C.R. under a crown, with the motto, "Dum spiro spero"; on the reverse, a castle with three towers, on the centre of which is a flag; and from one side tower issues a hand holding a sword, on the other the letters O.B.S., and below the date 1648.

The average weight of the shillings hitherto described appears to be about 70 grains, and, such being the case, there is little doubt this piece was intended for a much higher value, weighing more than double any others, but whether it was a two-shilling piece or a half-crown is uncertain, although the probability is in favour of the latter,

as half-crowns are positively alluded to by Folkes as having been struck, and especially as it has the appearance of being worn at the edges, and has a hole at one of the extremities, which has decreased its original weight. I also exhibit, for the sake of comparison, the four varieties published by Ruding, which I recently obtained with the larger piece from Belgium; they are in much better condition than usual, and the weights more than those quoted by Ruding or Folkes.

		grs.	Ruding.
Ruding, pl.xxix. fig. 10,	Charles I., octagonal,	79	74
„ „ fig. 11,	do. lozenge	83	66
„ „ fig. 12,	Charles II., octagonal	65	71
„ „ fig. 13,	do. do. hanc dedit, etc.	72	71

I remain, Dear Sir,

Yours most obediently,

W. CHAFFERS.

J. B. Bergne, Esq., *Treasurer*,
Numismatic Society.

XV.

PROFESSOR HOLMBOE ON COINS OF ETHELRED II.

[Read May 25, 1854.]

MESSIEURS,

AYANT l'honneur d'être Associé Étranger de votre savante Société, je prends la liberté de vous adresser quelques

remarques à l'occasion de la notice, que Mr. W. B. Dickinson a communiquée dans le Numismatic Chronicle, Octobre, 1853, p. 99, sq., d'une trouvaille de monnaies à l'île de Man, contenant exclusivement des monnaies du Roi Ethelred II., du type avec LRVX au revers, Ruding, Pl. XXII. 4, ou C chez Hildebrand. Mr. Dickinson émet l'opinion, que ce type puisse être adopté à l'occasion du baptême du prince Norvégien Olaf Tryggvason en 994, et que par conséquent il ne soit pas parmi les premiers types du Roi Ethelred, s'en rapportant aussi à la circonstance, que la trouvaille ne présentât point de monnaies des rois antécédans. J'ai émis une opinion différente dans un article, que j'ai inséré dans les Mémoires de la Société Impériale d'Archéologie de St. Petersbourg, vol. iv. p. 361, et suiv., dans lequel j'ai rendu compte de deux trouvailles de monnaies faites en Norvège en 1848, l'une à Kaldal, une ferme située près de 100 milles anglaises au Nord de la ville de Thronhjøm (Drontheim), l'autre à Bore, une ferme aux environs de la ville de Stavanger. Ces deux trouvailles continrent pour la plus grande partie des monnaies anglo-saxonnes du roi Ethelred II., des deux types seulement, Ruding, Pl. XXII., No. 4 et No. 9—15, ou Hildebrand, B et C ; et parmi les monnaies, que les accompagnaient, il n'y eut une seule, qui pût avec vraisemblance être attribué au 11^{me} siècle. De la circonstance, qu'il n'y eut que deux types d'Ethelred, j'ai tiré la conclusion, que ces deux sont les premiers types de ce roi, et la trouvaille de Mars vient affirmer mon opinion, puisqu'on aurait plus de raison à attendre les monnaies trouvées accompagnées d'autres du même prince que de les attendre accompagnées de celles des princes précédans au étrangers contemporains. De l'absence d'autres types d'Ethelred je conclus, qu'il n'en existait aucun au temps,

où la somme pût déposée. A l'appui de mon opinion vient encore, que le type avec LRVX est le premier, qui fût imité par les princes Scandinaves, qui commençaient à frapper des monnaies dans nos pays septentrionaux. Non seulement Sven en Danemark et Olaf en Svède, mais aussi le duc régent de la Norvège, Hácon, dit le Mauvais, imitait le type avec LRVX (voyez Köhne's Zeitschrift für Münz-Siegel- und Wappen-Kunde, 6^{ten} Jahrgang, où j'ai traité les commencements du monnayage en Norvège). Le duc Hácon fût assassiné A.D. 995; le type, qu'il imitait, doit donc avoir précédé cette époque de quelques années au moins.

Voilà, Messieurs mes raisons pour la supposition, que LRVX nous présente les premières monnaies du roi Ethelred II. et la main de la Providence les secondes en ordre. Je prends la liberté de les soumettre à votre jugement éclairé.

Agréez, Messieurs, l'assurance du grand intérêt, avec lequel je suis vos travaux, et du profond respect, avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'être

Votre très-humble et très obéissant serviteur,

C. F. HOLMBOE.

Christiania, le 21 Avril, 1854.

A la Société Numismatique de Londres.

P.Sc. Après avoir fini ma lettre, j'ai feuilleté l'ouvrage de Mr. Hildebrand, Monnaies Anglo-saxonnes du Cabinet Royal de Stockholm, et j'y ai trouvé à la page 60 la description d'une trouvaille, sans laquelle il n'y avait des monnaies d'Ethelred que du type avec LRVX, aux pp.39 et 67 deux travailles, qui fournirent les types avec LRVX et avec la main, et aux pp.45 et 54 deux autres fournissant les types avec LRVX, avec la main et avec la petite croix.

XVI.

UNPUBLISHED COINS.

[Read May 25, 1854.]

38, *Norland Square*, 14th June, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR,

UNDER the impression that one of the objects of the Numismatic Chronicle is to make known coins hitherto unpublished, I beg to hand the description of a few in my cabinet, which, if they should prove acceptable, I propose to follow up with further communications.

CUNOBELINE.

Obv.—CUNO. A horse galloping to the left, an ornament above.

Rev.—CAMV, An ear of wheat terminated in a figure resembling an ace of clubs. *N*.33½. Weight, 82 grs.

The variety here consists in the horse going to the left, and the peculiar figure on the reverse. This type is not noticed by Mr. Hawkins; and there is no specimen in the British Museum, or in the extensive collection of the late Mr. Cuff. The work is fine for the period.

TARENTUM.

Obv.—A scallop shell.

Rev.—An incuse square, similar to the brass coin of Syracuse figured by Mionnet, vii. pl. xxxviii. 10. *A* 1½. Weight, 12½ grains.

This attribution may not be considered certain, but the style of the shell resembles the coins of this town more than of any other.

DELPHI.

Obv.—A ram's head looking to the right, below it is a dolphin.

Rev.—Two goat's heads facing each other, in a sunk square.
 $\mathcal{A}$ $1\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, 22 grains.

This type is not noticed by De Bosset, from whose work Mionnet's list of these coins is compiled. There is one specimen in the British Museum, but that differs in having a dolphin over the goat's head on the reverse.

PRUSA AD OLYMPUM.

Obv.— $\text{AYT. K. M. AYPHAIOE KOMMOAOE ANTΩN.}$
 Laurellled bust of Commodus to the right, with paludamentum.

Rev.— ΠΠΟΥΛΑΕΩΝ. A recumbent river god, with his left arm resting on an urn, from which water flows; in his right hand he holds a poppy and two ears of corn; in front is a plant. $\mathcal{A}$ 8.

The reverse appears to be entirely new of this town.

CYZICUS.

Obv.—Head of Hercules, bearded, to the right, covered with the lion's skin placed on a tunny fish.

Rev.—A rough incuse, divided into four parts. Electrum size, 4. Weight, $249\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

This type does not appear in any of the lists of those rare coins to which I have access.

CLAZOMENE AND SAMOS.

Obv.—Head of a ram to the right, with a lizard under it.

Rev.—The fore part of a bull in a sunk square. $\mathcal{A}$. $1\frac{1}{2}$.
 Weight, 28 grains.

CROTONA.

Obv.—An eagle soaring.

Rev.— $\phi\text{PO.}$ A tripod or laurel leaf. $\mathcal{A}$. $4\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, $119\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

The fabric of this coin is particularly elegant; the type of the obverse is, I believe, quite new.

SYRACUSE.

Obv.—Galeated head of Pallas to the left.

Rev.—An incuse square, in the centre of which is a wheel, and in the four corners the letters ΣΥΡΑ. *Æ*. 1. Weight, $8\frac{1}{4}$ grains.

The only specimen with which I am acquainted is in the British Museum, and that is slightly varied.

LYSIMACHUS.

Obv.—Head of young Hercules covered with the lion's skin.

Rev.—ΑΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Jupiter Aetophorus seated to the left; in front a crescent and half lion, below the throne a pentagon. *Æ*. 8. Weight, 247 grains.

There is a specimen of this rare coin in the British Museum, but the adjuncts on the reverse are varied, and the style of work different. And in the collection of Major-General Fox there is one very similar to mine; but I am not aware that the type has been published, except in the catalogue of the Thomas collection.

ALYZIA.

Obv.—Head of Hercules, covered with the lion's skin

Rev.—ΑΛΥΖΑΙΩΝ. A bow, club, and quiver. *Æ*. $4\frac{1}{2}$.

A new variety of the rare money of this town.

SAMOS.

Obv.—The skin of a lion's head, seen in front.

Rev.—ΑΟΧΙΤΗΣ. Fore part of a bull with ornamented collar, turned to the right, a laurel branch behind, a bee and ΣΑ below. *Æ*. $5\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, 236 grs.

The workmanship and condition of this coin are remarkably fine: the name of the magistrate unpublished. This high weight is very unusual.

ANAZARBUS.

Obv.—Legend indistinct, bust of Plantilla.

Rev.—ANAZAPBEΩN NEΩKOPΩN. An urn, above which is the date A. K. Σ. Æ. 4.

This appears to be the first coin known of the town with the title Neocoros. The date 221 is equivalent to A.D. 202.

NAGIDUS.

Obv.—A bearded head crowned with ivy to the right.

Rev.—ΝΑΓΙΑΙΚΟΝ. A female head to the right, with necklace, the hair bound up. Æ. 4½. Weight, 164½ grains.

This type appears to be unpublished, except in a few sale catalogues, although there are two specimens of this size and one smaller in the British Museum, and one of the large size in the cabinet of Major-General Fox.

I remain, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

AUGUSTIN W. LANGDON.

W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., M.A.

XVII.

ON ROMAN COINS FOUND NEAR COLERAINE.

(FROM ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHEOLOGY.)

IN the month of April, 1854, the following appeared in the Coleraine Chronicle, and was copied into several other newspapers:—

“EXTRAORDINARY DISCOVERY OF COINS.—A very extraordinary discovery was made by a labouring man the other day, while cleaning out a ditch. He found an urn

containing 1937 coins, together with 341 ounces of silver, in pieces of various sizes. The coins are Roman, in the most perfect state of preservation, of the most antique description; and what is very singular, no two coins appear to bear the same superscription. The silver is composed of a large number of ingots, and ornamental pieces supposed to have been used on armour for horses. There are also several battle-axes, marked with Roman characters. The whole is now in the possession of Mr. James Gilmour, watchmaker, Coleraine, where they may be seen by any one curious in the science of numismatics."

A natural feeling of interest in a discovery which promised to throw some light on the ancient condition of Ireland, induced me to write to Mr. Gilmour, recommending that, before the articles thus fortunately discovered were dispersed, means should be taken for having a careful description of them put on record in the pages of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*; and Mr. Gilmour, fully concurring in this desire, soon afterwards placed the entire collection of coins in the hands of my friend, James Caruthers, Esq., the well-known numismatist, who has undertaken to prepare a detailed catalogue of them; the other articles he intrusted to me for a similar purpose. Mr. Gilmour has also explained to me more fully and more correctly than was possible in a hastily written newspaper paragraph, the circumstances connected with their discovery.

The discovery was made in the neighbourhood of Coleraine, viz., in the townland of Ballinrees, parish of Macosquin, and county of Londonderry, about three and a half miles west of Coleraine, and upon the estate of Lady Emily Richardson. It was made, as was stated in the newspapers, by a labouring man, but not "while cleaning

out a ditch." Had it been so, the inference might have been raised, that the hoard had been *deposited in a ditch*, and, consequently, *since* the formation of the existing land-divisions; but from a sketch-map of the field, since furnished to me, it is manifest that the deposit had no reference to any of the present boundaries. Neither was it found in "an urn"; there was no trace of any vessel or covering, although from the closeness with which the whole lay packed together, it is highly probable that the collection, when deposited in the earth, had been contained in some case, bag, or box, which has utterly decayed, so that no trace of it remains. It was found at such a depth below the surface, that it must have been carefully buried in the place where it was discovered; not simply dropped on the surface, and afterwards accidentally interred by the spade or the plough. The soil is "moory," but seems not to have been covered with water at any time since the deposit of the treasure. The coins in the collection amount to 1506, not 1937, as stated in the paragraph; they are all Roman, and of silver, but small, few being larger than a sixpence, and many considerably less: far from being "all in the most perfect state of preservation," many are clipped, defaced, and otherwise injured; they certainly are not "of the most antique description," as there is not a single *consular* coin in the heap; all are of the lower empire, and there are many duplicates. On these points, the Catalogue prepared by Mr. Carruthers will give more detailed and satisfactory information. The silver articles found along with the coins, and placed in my hands, weigh altogether, as ascertained by my friend Mr. Gray, of Castle-place, Belfast, not 341 ounces as stated, but 200 ounces 15 penny-weights, Troy, to which, however, must be added two or three ounces, for the weight of one half of one of the ingots

evidently intended for a higher value than any that has yet been met with, so far as I have been able to ascertain. The only specimens which have been engraved are square and octangular pieces, supposed to represent the value of twelve pence; the former has, on the side of the Castle, XII., instead of the hand and sword.

Ruding, Pl. 29, engraves two of Charles I. and two of Charles II., the weights of which are from 66 to 74 grains. In a note to this work (vol. ii. p. 332) it is stated, "Folkes says that crowns and half-crowns were coined, but shillings only have yet appeared, whose weights are so irregular as to have given rise to the idea that larger pieces were intended; some of them weigh as much as 89 grains." In the place referred to, however, Folkes says nothing about crowns, but speaks only of half-crowns and shillings: his words are, "Whilst the Castle of Pontefract was defended for King Charles I. in 1648, half-crowns were struck there in the form of a lozenge, like those coined at Newark, with shillings also of the same make, and some that were round or eight-cornered." Snelling had heard of half-crowns, but could never procure a drawing of one.

The piece now exhibited weighs 146 grains; it is of the lozenge form, and has on the obverse C.R. under a crown, with the motto, "Dum spiro spero"; on the reverse, a castle with three towers, on the centre of which is a flag; and from one side tower issues a hand holding a sword, on the other the letters O.B.S., and below the date 1648.

The average weight of the shillings hitherto described appears to be about 70 grains, and, such being the case, there is little doubt this piece was intended for a much higher value, weighing more than double any others, but whether it was a two-shilling piece or a half-crown is uncertain, although the probability is in favour of the latter,

as half-crowns are positively alluded to by Folkes as having been struck, and especially as it has the appearance of being worn at the edges, and has a hole at one of the extremities, which has decreased its original weight. I also exhibit, for the sake of comparison, the four varieties published by Ruding, which I recently obtained with the larger piece from Belgium; they are in much better condition than usual, and the weights more than those quoted by Ruding or Folkes.

			grs.	Ruding.
Ruding, pl.xxix.	fig. 10,	Charles I., octagonal,	79	74
"	"	fig. 11, do. lozenge	83	66
"	"	fig. 12, Charles II., octagonal	65	71
"	"	fig. 13, do. do. hanc dedit, etc.	72	71

I remain, Dear Sir,

Yours most obediently,

W. CHAFFERS.

J. B. Bergne, Esq., *Treasurer*,
Numismatic Society.

XV.

PROFESSOR HOLMBOE ON COINS OF ETHELRED II.

[Read May 25, 1854.]

MESSIEURS,

AYANT l'honneur d'être Associé Étranger de votre savante Société, je prends la liberté de vous adresser quelques

which is nearly of the same shape, but larger, has only the last part of its inscription, shewing the letters CVRMISSI, i. e. *Curatoris Missi*, or perhaps *Procuratoris Missi*, i. e. "of the Manager Missus:" it may have read when perfect, "*from the Office of — sent forth as Manager,*" or *Procurator*.

5. A small fragment of a very solid piece of plate, apparently the lid of a flagon; as a part of the raised flange which closed against the side of the vessel, to shut in the contents tightly, still remains. It shews a human head seen in profile, with a few ornaments, the style of which, as well as that of the features of the face, and the manner of dressing the head, bespeaks the workmanship to be Egyptian. A trace of gilding is perceptible.

6. A very elegant silver ornament, which also was once gilt. The middle compartment, which is decorated with an eight-pointed star (perhaps symbolical of the eight winds), is raised above the plane of the two end divisions, allowing space for a belt or strap to pass beneath it: the end compartments contain two of the rivet-holes by which it was fastened to the object to which it belonged. Work, Roman.

I have not thought it necessary to give any drawing of the decoration of the large silver article which Mr. Caruthers conjectures to have been a cup, as it is in the very simplest style imaginable, consisting only of lines, circles, awkward imitations of foliage, formed by punching. Two punches were used; one to impress a plain dot, another a little circle, such as would be made by pressing the pipe of a small key on paper: the type is varied by punching occasionally the dot within the little circle. The silver is so thin, that if it really belonged to a cup or other vessel, it must have been merely the outer casing, which had been

lined and supported by a wooden or earthenware one inside, as it is not thicker than good writing-paper. Perhaps it may have been the covering of a helmet or small shield. The silver is so contorted, that it could not now be flattened without the risk of breaking it into pieces, and I have not thought myself warranted in trying the experiment.

It has been already remarked, that every article in the "find" was of *silver*. There was not a coin or article of gold or bronze, nor a specimen of jewellery, in the whole collection. This fact may assist in determining the purpose for which the whole had been gathered together. It was not a merchant's money-box, nor the hoard of a miser, nor the booty of a robber, nor the spoils of a warrior, nor the treasury of a monastery: in any of these cases the hoard would, almost beyond a doubt, have contained some gold or brass, or both, and, beyond a doubt, some article of plate in a perfect state; whereas it does not contain (with the exception of a portion of the coins) one unmutilated piece of wrought silver; all are bent, broken, and for every useful purpose destroyed, and nine-tenths of the whole consist of lumps, or rude castings, which, at the time when they were made, could have had no value at all except the intrinsic worth of the metal. The only use to which such a heap could be applied would be as *old silver*, intended to supply material to a silversmith for the exercise of his art. I have little doubt that the hoard had been originally collected for this use: how or why it came to be buried in the earth it is impossible now to say with certainty. It may have been deposited there by its owner for safety in troublesome times; or it may have been stolen from him, and buried by the robber for the purpose of concealment. But

however it came there, its contents prove, to my mind convincingly, that *the art of manufacturing silver was practised, and perhaps extensively practised, in Ireland, at the time of its inhumation.*

It farther proves, as I conceive, that at that period *there was some intercourse between Ireland and the parts of Europe which had formerly been subject to the power of the Roman Emperors*; for there can be little doubt, that the articles in this hoard had all been collected within the limits of the ancient empire; in Britain, Gaul, or Spain, or, possibly, in Greece, Africa, or Egypt. The coins are all Roman: some of the ingots are impressed with inscriptions in the Latin language; and the workmanship of several of the pieces of plate is decidedly Roman. One is, as I judge, Egyptian; another may perhaps be Greek; but Egypt and Greece were included in the empire, and we can conceive numberless ways in which a silver vessel of Egyptian or Greek manufacture might find its way into the remotest provinces. A proconsul, a *publicanus*, an officer in the army, on shifting his quarters from one part of the empire to another, might easily bring such an article with him into Gaul or Britain, which, when injured by fire or other accident, might be broken up and sold for old silver. I do not think it necessary, therefore, to argue for the existence of a commerce between Ireland and Egypt, or Greece, at the time of the formation of this hoard. I apprehend we ought not to push an antiquarian inference further than is absolutely necessary to explain the facts. These, however, leave no doubt, that there was some kind of intercourse, direct or indirect, between Ireland and the Roman Empire, involving a reciprocal interchange of commodities, at the time when this mass of silver was gathered together, and imported

into this country. That it was not an intercourse of war only, is evident from the dilapidated condition of the plate and the silver.

And when was this? It is not easy to solve this question precisely. It must have been since the reign of Honorius, the latest emperor (as I have learned from Mr. Carruthers) whose inscription occurs on the coins, and probably before the erection of mints, and the issuing of silver money by the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, the Franks in Gaul, and the Visigoths in Spain. Had Saxon money been in common use in the neighbouring island, it is probable that some specimens would have occurred in a gathering so promiscuous as this. These limits would place the date of the formation of this hoard between A.D. 423 and A.D. 600.

It would therefore appear to be proved, that between these dates the art of the silversmith was exercised in Ireland, and that old plate and disused or damaged coins were then commercially imported as the materials of that trade. No doubt the articles of plate which were manufactured in this country were also used and worn in this country. Silver cups, flagons, and other utensils, fibulæ, and other ornaments, were to be seen in the houses of the chieftains, and on their persons, and those of their families; and there was also some foreign trade. By means of this commerce, the Irish merchants became acquainted with the use of coined money; they met with it abroad, and imported it into their own country; but they brought it to Ireland (and this is a curious fact) only as old silver for manufacturing purposes. The Irish people never used the Roman coinage as a circulating medium; nor did they, for ages after the time of which we are speaking, strike money of their own for the purposes of trade. Down to a comparatively recent period, the chief standard of value was

black-cattle; payments in gold and silver were also made occasionally, but when such payments are recorded in the annals, the *weight* is always specified in ounces, which prove that coined money was not then employed. There was therefore a mixture of rudeness and refinement in the social state of the country. The upper classes were enabled to indulge in splendour; but there was little profitable industry by which the people generally could attain to wealth. A country which carried on any considerable internal trade would infallibly have either adopted a foreign coinage, or established one of its own, as a medium of exchange.

The occurrence of this clear example of the importation of wrought silver, though damaged, from the limits of the Roman Empire, may enable us to explain the resemblance which is found between the Roman style of decoration and that which may be seen in some undoubted specimens of Irish art. The interlaced triangle, the star of eight points, and the wave and spiral, of which there are specimens in this collection, are also found, though seldom so beautifully executed, on fibulæ and other ancient ornaments made in Ireland. This seems to me to be the chief point in which this discovery has any important bearing on the history of native art. The question, *how, and how far, the early state of the arts in Ireland was influenced by the contemporary condition of Roman art*, is one of considerable interest, which it would be very desirable to see discussed by some one having learning, leisure, and opportunity to follow it out satisfactorily. For the solution of that question, the articles which have now been described, injured and imperfect though they are, will undoubtedly contribute some help: and, in this point of view, are interesting to the archaeologist. Hence it is to be hoped, that means

will be taken for preventing them from being dispersed, or perhaps consigned to the melting-pot. They ought undoubtedly to be purchased for some public collection or museum, in which they would be carefully preserved and catalogued, so as to be always available to aid the researches of the student.

J. SCOTT PORTER.

Belfast, May 5th, 1854.

XVIII.

LIST OF ROMAN COINS FROM COLERAINE.

AS CLASSED BY JAMES CARRUTHERS, BELFAST.

JVLIAN II.

- 6 JVLIANVS AVG.—Re. Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTTIS X.—
Ex. TR.
- 1 Denarius—Re. Victory, Clipt.
- 2 Denarii—Re. Wreath, VOTIS XXX MVLTTIS XXXX.
- 4 JVLIANVS PFAVG.—Re. Wreath, VOTS V MVLTTIS X.—
Ex. SLVG.
- 1 Denarius—Re. Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTTIS X.—Ex. LVG.
- 1 „ Re. Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTTIS X.—Ex. CON.
- 1 „ Re. Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTTIS X.—Ex.
TCONST.
- 1 „ Re. Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTS X.—Ex. TCON.
- 1 „ Re. Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTS X.—Ex. SCON.
- 4 Denarii — Re. Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTTIS X.
- 3 „ Re. Wreath, VOTIS X MVLTTIS XX.
- 4 „ Re. Wreath, VOTIS X MVLTTIS XX. — Ex.
CONST.
- 1 Denarius—Re. Wreath, VOT X MVLTT XX.—Ex. SCONST.
- 1 „ Re. Wreath, VOT X MVLTT XX.—Ex. PLVG.

- 1 Denarius—Re. Wreath, VOT X MVLT XX.—Ex. TCONST.
37 Clipt Denarii—Re. Wreath, VOTIS X MVLTIS XX.
Ex. TCONST.
6 „ Re. Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTIS X.

JOVIANVS.

DN JOVIANVS PFAVG.

- 1 Denarius—Re. Wreath, VOT V MVLX.—Ex. TCONST.
1 Medallion—Re. The Emperor standing under an arch.
GLORIA ROMANORVM.

VALENTINIANVS I.

ND VALENTINIANVS PFAVG.

- | | | | |
|----|----------|---|--|
| 5 | Denarii | — | Re. Rome seated, holding a victory, VRBS ROMA.
—Ex. TRPS. |
| 3 | „ | | Re. Rome seated, VICTVS ROMANORVM.—
Ex. TRPS. |
| 4 | „ | | Re. Rome seated, holding a victory, VRBS ROMA.
—Ex. LVGPS. |
| 3 | „ | | Re. Rome seated, holding a victory. VRBS ROMA.
—Ex. RP. |
| 3 | „ | | Re. Wreath, VOT V MVLT X.—Ex. RT. |
| 1 | Denarius | — | Re. Wreath, VOT V.—Ex. CP.A. |
| 1 | „ | | Re. The Emperor standing, holding the labarum,
and a victory, RESTITVTOR REIP.—
Ex. LVG. |
| 1 | Clift | „ | Re. Rome seated. |
| 13 | Denarii | — | Re. Rome victrix, VIRTVS ROMANORVM,
partially clift. |

VALENS.

DN VALENS PFAVG.

- 32 Denarii — Re. Rome seated, VRBS ROMA.—Ex. TRPS.
 7 „ Re. Rome seated, VRBS ROMA.
 1 Denarius — Re. Wreath, VOT V MVLT X.—Ex. RB.
 1 „ Re. Wreath, VOT V.—Ex. CC.
 1 „ Re. Rome seated, VRBS ROMA.—Ex. MOPS.
 1 „ Re. Rome seated, VRBS ROMA.—Ex. PLVS.
 1 „ Re. Rome seated, VRBS ROMA.—Ex. RQ.
 1 „ Re. The Emperor standing, holding the standard of the cross, and a victory, RESTITVTOR REIP.—Ex. SMAQ.
 2 Denarii — Re. The Emperor standing, holding the standard of the cross, and a victory, RESTITVTOR REIP.—Ex. PLYS.

- 1 Denarius—Re. The Emperor standing, holding the standard of the Cross, and a victory, RESTITVTOR REIP.—Ex. TES.
- 23 Partially Clipt Denarii—Re. Roma victrix seated, VRBS ROMA.

GRATIANVS.

DN GRATIANVS PFAVG.

- 22 Denarii — Re. Rome seated, VRBS ROMA.—Ex. TRPS.
- 11 Quinarii — Re. Rome seated, VRBS ROMA.—Ex. TRPS.
- 15 „ Re. Rome seated, VRBS ROMA.
- 5 Denarii — Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.
- 2 „ Re. Rome seated, VRBS ROMA.—Ex. MOPS.
- 6 „ Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM. — Ex. TRPS.
- 2 „ Re. Wreath, VOT X MVLTV.
- 2 „ Re. Wreath, VOT X MVLTV.—Ex. P*R.
- 1 Denarius—Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM. — Ex. MOPS.
- 9 Denarii — Re. Rome victrix, VRBS ROMA.
- 10 „ Re. Rome seated, holding a globe and spear, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.—Ex. TRPS.

VALENTINIANVS II.

DN VALENTINIANVS JVN PFAVG.

- 3 Denarii — Re. Victory marching, holding garland and palm branch, VICTORIA AVGGG.—Ex. TRPS.
- 2 „ Re. Rome seated, holding a victory, VRBS ROMA.—Ex. AQ. PS.
- 11 Clipt „ Re. Victory marching.
- 1 Clipt Denarius—Re. Rome seated, holding a victory.

THEODOSIVS MAGNVS.

DN THEODOSIVS PFAVG.

- 7 Denarii — Re. Roma victrix, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.
- 23 „ Re. Roma victrix, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.— Ex. TRPS.
- 6 „ Re. Clipt, various.
- 2 „ Re. Wreath, VOT X MVLTV.—Ex. MOPS.
- 1 Denarius—Re. Roma victrix, VRBS ROMA.—Ex. LVGPS.
- 1 „ Roma victrix, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.— Ex. MOPS.
- 1 „ Re. A woman seated, her right foot on the prow of a vessel, holding a spear and cornucopiæ, CONCORDIA AVGGG.—Ex. TRPS.

MAGNVS MAXIMVS.

DN MAG MAXIMVS PFAVG.

35 Denarii — Re. A helmeted woman, holding a globe and spear,
VIRTVS ROMANORVM.—Ex. TRPS.17 Partially Clipt Denarii—A helmeted woman, holding a globe
and spear, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.

VICTOR.

DN FL VICTOR PFAVG.

4 Clipt Denarii—Re. A helmeted woman, holding in her right
hand a globe, and in her left a spear.—
Ex. TRPS.

4 „ Re. VIRTVS ROMANORVM.

EUGENIVS.

DN EVGENIVS PFAVG.

8 Denarii — Re. Roma victrix seated, VIRTVS ROMANO-
RVM.—Ex. TRPS.

29 „ Roma victrix seated.

ARCADIVS.

DN ARCADIVS PFAVG.

39 Denarii — Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.—
Ex. MOPS.8 „ Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.—
Ex. TRPS.1 Quinarius—Re. Victory marching with garland and palm,
VICTORIA AVGG.—Ex. M.28 Partially Clipt Denarii—Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS RO-
MANORVM.

3 Quinarii—Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.

2 Denarii — Re. Wreath, VOT V MVLT X.—Ex. MOPS.

3 „ Re. Rome seated, VRBS ROMA.

3 „ Re. Wreath, VOT X MVLT XV.—Ex. MOPS.

1 Denarius—Re. Wreath, VOT V MVLT X.

2 Denarii — Re. Wreath, VOT V MVLT XV.

3 Partially Clipt Denarii—Re. Rome seated.

47 Denarii — Re. Roma victrix, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.

2 Partially Clipt Denarii—Re. Wreath, VOT X MVLT XV.

HONORIVS.

DN HONORIVS PFAVG.

45 Denarii — Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.—
Ex. MOPS.

- 3 Denarii — Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.—
Ex. TRPS.
- 14 Quinarii — Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.—
Ex TRPS.
- 30 „ Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.
- 3 Denarii — Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.
- 8 „ Re. Wreath, VOT V MVLX.—Ex. MOPS.
- 8 Quinarii, Clipt—Re. Rome seated.
- 1 Denarius—Re. Wreath, VOTIS XXX MVLXIS XXXX.
- 1 „ Re. Wreath, VOT X MVLX XV.
- 28 Denarii, Partially Clipt—Roma victrix seated, VIRTVS
ROMANORVM.

CONSTANTIVS II.

DN CONSTANTIVS PFAVG.

- 7 Denarii — Re. Wreath, VOTIS XXX MVLXIS XXXX.—
Ex. SCON.
- 2 „ Re. Victory, VICTORIA · DD · NN · AVG.—Ex.
LVG.
- 7 Clipt „ Re. Wreath, VOTIS XXX MVLXIS XXXX.
- 6 Partially Clipt Denarii—Victory, VICTORIA DD NN AVG.

CONSTANTINVS III.

DN CONSTANTINVS PFAVG.

- 2 Denarii — Re. A helmeted woman holding a victory, and the
hasta, VICTORIA AAA GGGG.—Ex.
LDPV.
- 3 Clipt „ Re. CONSTANTIVS and MAG MAXIMVS.
Re. Wreath, VOTIS XXX MVLX XXX.

557 Denarii—Legends Clipt off.

194 „ Partially Clipt.

XIX.

ON THE COINAGE OF THE DYNASTIES CALLED
THE BENEE-TOOLOON AND THE IKHSHEEDEE-
YEH, RULING IN EGYPT.

IN the examination of some Oriental coins acquired this year by the Museum, I had the good fortune to discover that one of them, a deenar, bore the name of a sovereign of the Benee-Tooloon, of whose money no example had been previously known to numismatists. Coins of another prince of the same family had been found, and our collection contained one classed under his name. In both cases the deenars, for that last mentioned was also a deenar, bore the name of the contemporary Abbásee Khaleefeh of Baghdád, with that of the Tooloonite in a subordinate position, and it was therefore not unlikely that some other coins of the same class might be found in the Museum and elsewhere classed to the Khaleefehs. And it must be borne in mind, that the absence of vowels and diacritical points renders the reading of the inscriptions on this Cufic money so difficult, that a practised Oriental numismatist may often be unable to read a word unless he knows what to expect. My discovery induced me to examine carefully all the coins to which I had access that might bear the names of princes of the Benee-Tooloon family, that is, those of the contemporary Abbásee Khaleefehs, and the

Plate of the Coins of the Benec-Tooloon and Ikhsheeddeeyeh.

1. AHMAD IBN TOOLOON, p. 122,1.
2. KHUMÁRAWEYH IBN AHMAD, p. 124,3.
3. ID. p. 124,4.
4. HAROON IBN KHUMÁRAWEYH, p. 124,1.
5. ID. p. 125,3.
6. MOHAMMAD EL-IKHSHEED, p. 125,2.
7. ABU-L-KÁSİM IBN EL-IKHSHEED, p. 125,2.
8. 'ALEE IBN EL-IKHSHEED, p. 126,1.





R.S.P. del.

Coins of the BENEE-TOOLOON and IKHSMEEDEEYEH.

result was highly satisfactory. I was able to separate in our collection eleven coins, all deenars, struck by three kings. Encouraged by this success, I persevered in my examination, and discovered five deenars of three kings of another family, which reigned not long after, that of the Ikhsheedeeyeh. Of one sovereign alone of those above-mentioned, of the Benee-Tooloon, and of two of the Ikhsheedeeyeh, were coins known to numismatists, those three being represented in the series which was the result of my search, and thus that search has made us acquainted with the coinage of three princes heretofore unrepresented in our collections. An inquiry so satisfactorily commenced leaves us no room to doubt, that we shall ultimately possess money of every prince of the two dynasties above mentioned, except those whose reigns were of such short duration, and so taken up by the struggle for power, that we cannot suppose them to have issued a coinage. Before leaving this part of the subject I am unwilling to omit saying how much I have been indebted to my colleague, Mr. Vaux, for his kind assistance in inquiries of this nature, and in this one in particular, and how greatly I value the readiness with which he has aided me in a province which his extensive knowledge of Eastern subjects has made peculiarly his own.

The history of the East during the rule of the two short dynasties whose coins we have to consider being but little known, I make no apology for briefly noticing it. It was my original intention to have treated of these dynasties more fully, and, in particular, to have added as complete a chronological table as I could construct; but an examination of the materials convinced me, that in doing this I should render this paper too long for the Numismatic Chronicle, since its subject is not generally interesting, and I have

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therefore determined to confine myself to a few main particulars.¹

After Egypt had been conquered by the Muslims it was governed by viceroys, appointed by the Ummawee and Abbásee Khaleefehs, for more than two hundred years, until a viceroy, Ahmad, the son of Tooloon, a Turk by nation, rendered himself independent. The weakness of the Arabian empire, the power which the rich provinces under his rule conferred upon him, and his influence with his own fellow countrymen, who were a highly important body in the state, all contributed to the success of measures taken perhaps as much from necessity as from ambition. The central government was in the hands of Turkish emeers, the chiefs of a turbulent soldiery, in whose hands the Khaleefehs were generally puppets, maintained on sufferance, because of their supposed authority in spiritual matters. Whenever a Khaleefeh had the courage or the temerity to endeavour to regain the power of his ancestors, the result was war or intrigue so destructive as to threaten the ruin of the empire. We cannot, therefore, wonder, that the great fabric composed (like the image that Nebuchadnezzar saw) of so many and such various materials, began to grow weak, and to manifest signs of dismemberment. One by one the governors of provinces threw off their allegiance in temporal affairs, and founded dynasties of various power and duration.

Tooloon, the father of Ahmad, was a Turkish slave of the Khaleefeh El-Ma-moon, and filled important offices.

¹ The Khitat of El-Makreezee, and the works of Abu-l-Fida, Es-Suyootee, El-Is-hákee, El-Mekeen, and others, contain much important matter respecting the Bence-Tooloon and the Ikhsheedeeyeh.

His son, after having held other places with credit, was appointed, in the year 868, to the government of Egypt and Syria, by the Khaleefeh El-Moatezz billáh. By degrees he threw off his allegiance to his sovereign in temporal affairs, though he did not cease to cause him to be prayed for in the mosques, and to be mentioned as Prince of the Faithful upon the coins. In doing this he avoided wounding the feelings of the people, by repudiating the religious authority of the descendant and successor of Mohammad, with whom also future accommodation was not impossible. For seventeen years he continued to rule Egypt and Syria with great wisdom and vigour, and when "he was visited by the terminator of delights and separator of companions," he left to his son Khumáraweyh a kingdom bounded on the West by Barca (for he had made conquests in Northern Africa), and on the East by the Euphrates. The historians of Egypt relate many things of his magnificence, and tell us that he founded a new capital, and adorned it with splendid buildings. It was named El-Katáé', and was situate near El-Fustát, the first Arab metropolis of Egypt. Its extent was never great, and it was rather remarkable for the edifices which it contained. The chief mosque yet remains in the southern part of Cairo, which now partly occupies the site of this earlier capital, and is known as the mosque of Ibn Tooloon. This great building is interesting, both as being the largest in extent of the mosques in Cairo, and on account of its architecture. The minaret has a spiral staircase winding around it instead of within it, and was surmounted by a boat, in which grain was put to feed the birds. This boat fell a few years ago while I was residing in Cairo, and was neither put up again, nor was another substituted in its place. Around each side of the court is a colonnade sup-

MAGNVS MAXIMVS.

DN MAG MAXIMVS PFAVG.

35 Denarii — Re. A helmeted woman, holding a globe and spear,
VIRTVS ROMANORVM.—Ex. TRPS.17 Partially Clipt Denarii—A helmeted woman, holding a globe
and spear, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.

VICTOR.

DN FL VICTOR PFAVG.

4 Clipt Denarii—Re. A helmeted woman, holding in her right
hand a globe, and in her left a spear.—
Ex. TRPS.

4 „ Re. VIRTVS ROMANORVM.

EUGENIVS.

DN EVGENIVS PFAVG.

8 Denarii — Re. Roma victrix seated, VIRTVS ROMANO-
RVM.—Ex. TRPS.

29 „ Roma victrix seated.

ARCADIVS.

DN ARCADIVS PFAVG.

39 Denarii — Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.—
Ex. MOPS.8 „ Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.—
Ex. TRPS.1 Quinarius—Re. Victory marching with garland and palm,
VICTORIA AVGG.—Ex. M.28 Partially Clipt Denarii—Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS RO-
MANORVM.

3 Quinarii—Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.

2 Denarii — Re. Wreath, VOT V MVLT X.—Ex. MOPS.

3 „ Re. Rome seated, VRBS ROMA.

3 „ Re. Wreath, VOT X MVLT XV.—Ex. MOPS.

1 Denarius—Re. Wreath, VOT V MVLT X.

2 Denarii — Re. Wreath, VOT V MVLT XV.

3 Partially Clipt Denarii—Re. Rome seated.

47 Denarii — Re. Roma victrix, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.

2 Partially Clipt Denarii—Re. Wreath, VOT X MVLT XV.

HONORIVS.

DN HONORIVS PFAVG.

45 Denarii — Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.—
Ex. MOPS.

- 3 Denarii — Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.—
Ex. TRPS.
14 Quinarii — Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.—
Ex TRPS.
30 „ Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.
3 Denarii — Re. Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.
8 „ Re. Wreath, VOT V MVLX.—Ex. MOPS.
8 Quinarii, Clipt—Re. Rome seated.
1 Denarius—Re. Wreath, VOTIS XXX MVLXIS XXXX.
1 „ Re. Wreath, VOT X MVLX XV.
28 Denarii, Partially Clipt—Roma victrix seated, VIRTVS
ROMANORVM.

CONSTANTIVS II.

DN CONSTANTIVS PFAVG.

- 7 Denarii — Re. Wreath, VOTIS XXX MVLXIS XXXX.—
Ex. SCON.
2 „ Re. Victory, VICTORIA · DD · NN · AVG.—Ex.
LVG.
7 Clipt „ Re. Wreath, VOTIS XXX MVLXIS XXXX.
6 Partially Clipt Denarii—Victory, VICTORIA DD NN AVG.

CONSTANTINVS III.

DN CONSTANTINVS PFAVG.

- 2 Denarii — Re. A helmeted woman holding a victory, and the
hasta, VICTORIA AAA GGGG.—Ex.
LDPV.
3 Clipt „ Re. CONSTANTIVS and MAG MAXIMVS.
Re. Wreath, VOTIS XXX MVLX XXX.

- 557 Denarii—Legends Clipt off.
194 „ Partially Clipt.

having reigned two years, he died, and was buried, like all the preceding princes of the same dynasty, at Jerusalem. Káfoor was virtually king from the death of Mo-hammad, and ruled with an energy and wisdom which supported his authority against the numerous enemies who assailed the kingdom. He defeated Seyf-ed-dowleh, the prince of Hamadán, but afterwards succoured him against the Greek emperor Nicephorus, whose forces he caused to retire. He also defeated the Nubians, and repulsed every attempt of the Fátimée Khaleefeh of Africa to gain possession of Egypt. He is recorded to have been an enlightened prince, and a great patron of learning. The Arab poet, El-Mutanebbbee, celebrates these qualities in his verses. Káfoor was succeeded by a child of the Ikhsheedee family, who was dethroned, and his dynasty brought to an end, by El-Mo'ezz, the Fátimée Khaleefeh, in the year 969 of our era.

I subjoin a list of the coins of the two dynasties.

DYNASTY OF THE BENEE-TOOLOON.

I. *Ahmad Ibn Tooloon.*

1. *Obv.—Area:*

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له المتوكل على الله

(There is no deity but God, the one, with him is no associate.—El-Mutawekkil 'ala-lláh).

Inner circle:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمصر سنة ست وستين ومايتين

(In the name of God, this deenár was struck at Misr in the year [of the Flight] 266).

Margin:

الله الامر من قبل ومن بعد يومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله

(To God [belongeth] the government in the past and for the future: then shall the faithful rejoice in divine victory).

Rev.—Area :

لله محمد رسول الله المعتمد على الله احمد بن طولون

(To God—Mohammad is the apostle of God—
El-Moatemid 'ala-llah—Ahmad Ibn Tooloon.)

Margin :

محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله
ولوكره المشركون

(Mohammad is the apostle of God, whom he sent
with direction and the true religion, that he should
extol it over every religion, though the associators
be unwilling.)

It is to be observed, that the occurrence of the name of a preceding Khaleefeh, El-Mutawekkil, may be explained by his having been the father of El-Moatemid, the reigning Khaleefeh. On others the name of El-Moatemid's brother and coadjutor, El-Muwaffik billah, occurs in the same part of the inscription. (See Marsden's Numismata Orientalia, pp. 60, 61).

The city here called Misr is El-Fustát, which was founded at the Arab conquest of Egypt. The name Misr was applied to every one of the great capitals of Egypt by the Arabs excepting Alexandria. Memphis is so called in the Kur-án. Egyptian Babylon, a strong place on the opposite side of the river, where the governor of Egypt resided at the time of the Muslim invasion, is called by the same name in the narratives of that expedition. The name was next transferred to El-Fustát, which retained it until it was supplanted by El-Káhireh (that is, Cairo) which was founded at the downfall of the Ikhsheedee dynasty by Jóhar, the general who subdued the country, and still bears the name of Misr. There were two other capitals or seats of government, El-'Askar, which was founded by the general who reduced Egypt to the Abbásee Khaleefeh, on the overthrow of the preceding family, the Ummawee, and

El-Katäë, built by Ahmad Ibn Tooloon; but neither of these, though in the immediate neighbourhood of the older capital, El-Fustât, rose to sufficient importance to receive the name of Misr. In the present day a modern town stands on the site of El-Fustât, a little south of Cairo, and is called Misr el-'Ateekeh or Old Misr, which has been erroneously translated Old Cairo. Misr (vulgarly pronounced Masr) is the common appellation of Egypt, as well as of its capital, in Arabic.

In describing the remaining coins, I shall only specify wherein they differ from that described above.

2. *Obv.*—Mint, Misr; date, 267.

3. *Obv.*—Mint, Misr; date, 267.

4. *Obv.*—Mint, Misr; date, 267.

2. *Khumáraweyh Ibn Ahmad.*

1. *Obv.*—Mint, Misr; date 273.

Rev.—Usual inscription—

خمارويه بن احمد

(Khumáraweyh Ibn Ahmad)

2. *Obv.*—Mint, . . . ? date, 273.

3. *Obv.*—Mint, Dimeshk (Damascus); date, 277.

4. *Obv.*—*Area:*

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

(Name of El-Mutawekkil omitted.)

Inner circle: Mint, Misr; date, 282.

Rev.—Usual inscription—

المعتضد بالله خمارويه بن احمد

(El-Moatadid billáh Khumáraweyh Ibn Ahmad).

4. *Haroon Ibn Khumáraweyh.*

1. *Obv.*—Mint, Misr; date, 284.

Rev.—Usual inscription—

المعتضد بالله هرون بن خمارويه

(El-Moatadid billah Haroon Ibn Khumáraweyh.)

2. *Obv.*—Mint, Misr; date, 288.

3. *Obv.*—Mint, Misr; date, 291.

Rev.—*Area*: Usual inscription—

المكتفى بالله هرون بن خمارويه

(El-Muktefee billáh Haroon Ibn Khumáraweyh.)

DYNASTY OF THE IKHSHEEDEEYEH.

1. *Mohammad el-Ikhsheed.*

1. *Obv.*—Usual inscription—

ابومنصور بن امير المؤمنين

(Abou Mansoor, son of the Prince of the Faithful.)

Inner circle: Mint, . . . ? date, 333.

Rev.—Usual inscription—

المتقى لله الاخشيد

(El-Muttekee lilláh—El-Ikhsheed.)

2. *Obv.*—Mint, . . . ? date, 33x.

2. *Abu-l-Kásim Ibn El-Ikhsheed.*

1. *Obv.*—*Area*: Usual inscription—

ابوالقاسم بن الاخشيد

(Abu-l-Kásim Ibn El-Ikhsheed.)

Inner circle: Mint, . . . ? date, 337.

Rev.—*Area*:

لله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه المطيع لله

(To God—Mohammad is the apostle of God, may God favour him—El-Mutteea lillah.)

2. *Obv.*—Mint, . . . ? date, 337.

3. *Obv.*—Mint, . . . ? date, 345.

Rev.—*Area*:

لله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم له المطيع لله

(To God—Mohammad is the apostle of God—May God favour and preserve him—El-Mutteea lilláh.)

3. 'Alee Ibn El-Ikhsheed.

1. *Obv.*—*Area* : Usual inscription—

على بن الأخشيد

('Alee Ibn el-Ikhsheed.)

Inner circle : Mint, Misr ; date, 353.*Rev.*—*Area* : The same as the last.

R. STUART POOLE.

British Museum, July, 1854.

XX.

MR. FINLAY ON BYZANTINE COINS.

[As the following letter throws some light on the divisions of the Byzantine coinage, and is written by a gentleman whose long residence at Athens has given him great opportunities of collecting money of this class, I have thought such a communication might not be uninteresting to the readers of the Numismatic Chronicle.—W. S. W. Vaux.]

Southlawn, Southport, 12th July, 1854.

SIR,

I ENCLOSE a few Byzantine coins, which I believe to be rare and interesting to numismatists. If they are of any value to a public collection, as illustrating the divisions of the Byzantine coinage, I beg you to dispose of them as you think fit ; but if they are not so rare as I suppose, I should like to keep them to complete my collection at Athens.

The paper marked A contains a series of six copper coins of the time of Justinian I. They consist of the unit or νοῦμμόν, the 2, 3, 4, 5, and 20 nummia pieces, marked

respectively, *A*, weight 6grs.; *B*, 11grs.; *Γ*, 16grs.; *Δ*, 24grs.; *Ε*, 29grs.; and *K*, 76grs. I have a *K* in my collection of the thirteenth year, weighing 136grs.

I never met with the four smaller pieces before the parcel of coins was found at Athens, of which they formed a part. The *K* is of the year 39, which Friedländer, in his excellent essay on the coins of Justinian, p. 29, mentions he had never met with, and is chronologically of interest. For the smaller pieces, see p. 13 of Friedländer's Essay.

The second paper, marked *B*, contains four coins of Romanus I., which distinctly prove that Monsieur de Saulcy is wrong in changing the attribution to Romanus II.

1. Romanus struck over Leo VI., the philosopher.

2. Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus, struck over his father-in-law, Romanus I. The ΜΑΙΩΝ of Romanus I., and the ΜΕΟΝ of Constantine VII., are both visible on the reverse, as well as the long face of Constantine over the head of Romanus I.

3. The head of Constantine VII. shows the lower part of his face over the ΜΑΙΩΝ of the reverse of Romanus I., and reverse of CONST is struck over the obverse of Romanus I., whose name +ΡΩΜΑΝ is very legible.

4. This coin of Constantine VII., and his son Romanus II., struck over Romanus I., is ill preserved, but the type attributed by Monsieur de Saulcy to Romanus I. is visible

in the $\overset{A}{\underset{R\omega}{\omega^{bA}}}$ of the reverse, while the 'Ρομέον, which he
ΑΙΩΗ

argues was used until the time of Romanus II., whom he supposes first introduced the 'Ρομαίων, is evidently the second type. That Romanus I., therefore, used the 'Ρομαίων cannot be doubted. I have other coins in my collection confirming it. The change may have been con-

nected with some Hellenic party feelings of the usurper, but I have not ventured to insert this even as a conjecture in my Byzantine history.

I may also mention to you, that I possess a gold byzant of Constantine VII. and his mother Zoe; weight, 67grs. The busts of Constantine and Zoe, holding a double cross, as Constantine and Romanus II. on the type, No. 4, with legend round the heads CONSTANTICE ZΩH EN XΩb R. Reverse: Our Saviour seated, with right hand raised in the attitude of conferring a blessing; left with book resting on knee, as common in coins of the period, with + IHS XPS REX REQNTIUM+ This is unedited I think.

I do not venture to offer any observations, as I have no books to consult for references.

Accept my thanks for your kind permission to trouble you with these lines, and

Believe me, Sir,

Your obliged Servant,

GEORGE FINLAY.

W. S. W. Vaux, Esq.,
British Museum.

MISCELLANEA.

MARYVILLE, CORK, *June 17th, 1854.*

My Dear Sir,—On looking over the medals in my cabinet, I found two, both in silver, which I do not recollect seeing noticed or described by any writer, and some description of which you may perhaps consider interesting to the readers of the Numismatic Chronicle.

The first is an enamelled medal of the Emperor Frederic III.

Obv.—FRIDERICVS . III . SIVE . V . ROMAN . IMPER .
SEMPER . AVGVS . * Bust of the Emperor re-

garding its left, covered with a kind of ribbed and studded bonnet, and wearing a cape ornamented with a large star, and fastened with a jewel. C.W. under the bust.

Rev.—The following inscription in small capitals:

NATVS ·
 XXI · SEP · MCCCCXV ·
 PATRE · ERNEST · ARCHD ·
 AVST · MATRE · CIMBVRGA ·
 II · FEBR · MCCCCXL · ELECT ?
 FRANCOF · IN · REGEM · ROMAN ·
 CORONAT? AQVIS · GR · XVII · IVLII ·
 FRATRE · HELVET · GALLIS · SOPITIS ·
 LEONOR · PORTVG · VXOREM · DVXIT ·
 CORONAT · CVM · EA · ROMAE · A · NICOL ·
 IX · MART · MCCCCLII · SED · REVERS ?
 MAXIMA · PERICVLA · ET · BELLA · AB ·
 AVSTR · BOH · HVNG · BVRG · GALLIS ·
 PRIMAMQ · TVRCAR · IN · GERMAN ·
 IRRVPTIONEM · EXPERTVS ·
 IIS · OMNIBVS · SVPERATIS ·
 OB · LINTZII · XIX · AVG ·
 MCCCCXIII · SEPV ·
¹⁶ VIENNAE.⁹⁷

The face of the Emperor is covered with a light brown or flesh-coloured enamel, and, except the bonnet and drapery, the remainder of the field of the obverse with a green enamel; the reverse has no enamel, but the edge of the medal is filled with a thick coating of light blue. Its diameter is $9\frac{1}{4}$ of the scale of Mionnet, and its weight $6\frac{1}{4}$ dwts.

The other medal is a very ancient American one, exhibiting on the obverse, the taking and burning of the village of Kittanning on the Ohio, in 1756, by Colonel Armstrong, a full account of which transaction is given in Entick's History of the War of that period, vol.i. pp.491, 2; and on the reverse the arms of the Corporation of Philadelphia.

Obv.—KITTANNING . DESTROYED . BY . COL^L ARM-
 STRONG. The attack and burning of Kittanning.

Ex.—SEPTEMBER . 8 . 1756.

Rev.—THE . GIFT . OF . THE . CORPORATION . OF .
 THE . CITY . OF . PHILADELPHIA.

Arms of the City. 1st quarter azure, two hands joined; 2nd

vert., a wheat-sheaf proper; 3rd argent, a pair of scales; 4th Gules, a ship. Its diameter is 13 of the scale of Mionnet, and its weight $17\frac{1}{4}$ dwts.

Faithfully yours,

JOHN LINDSAY.

John Yonge Akerman, Esq., F.S.A., etc.

SAXON COINS FOUND IN THE ISLE OF MAN.

Dear Sir,—Since I reported to you the find of coins of Ethelred the Second in the Isle of Man, of which an account was given at page 99, Vol. XVI. of the Numismatic Chronicle, the following further specimens have fallen under my notice, part of the same hoard.

Obverses of all, the same as described in my paper above referred to.

Reverses, all of the PAX type.

PVNSTAN M^o PIN.
 PVNSTAN M^o T.
 HERVLF M^o PINT.
 EADRIC M^o LELL,
 ÆLFSTAN M^o EAXE.
 NILEVLF M^o PALIN.
 ÆLPERD M^o LVN.
 EADSTAN M^o ESNDE. (?)

The last stated coin is somewhat bruised, but to me seems to read as stated. To what mint it may belong it would be difficult to say; *perhaps* it may be a corrupted form for Exeter, *Esthe* for *Estheter*, but some numismatist may be able to elucidate it, as Ruding gives EDSTAN as one of Ethelred the Second's moneyers, though not stating the place minted at. I remain, etc.,

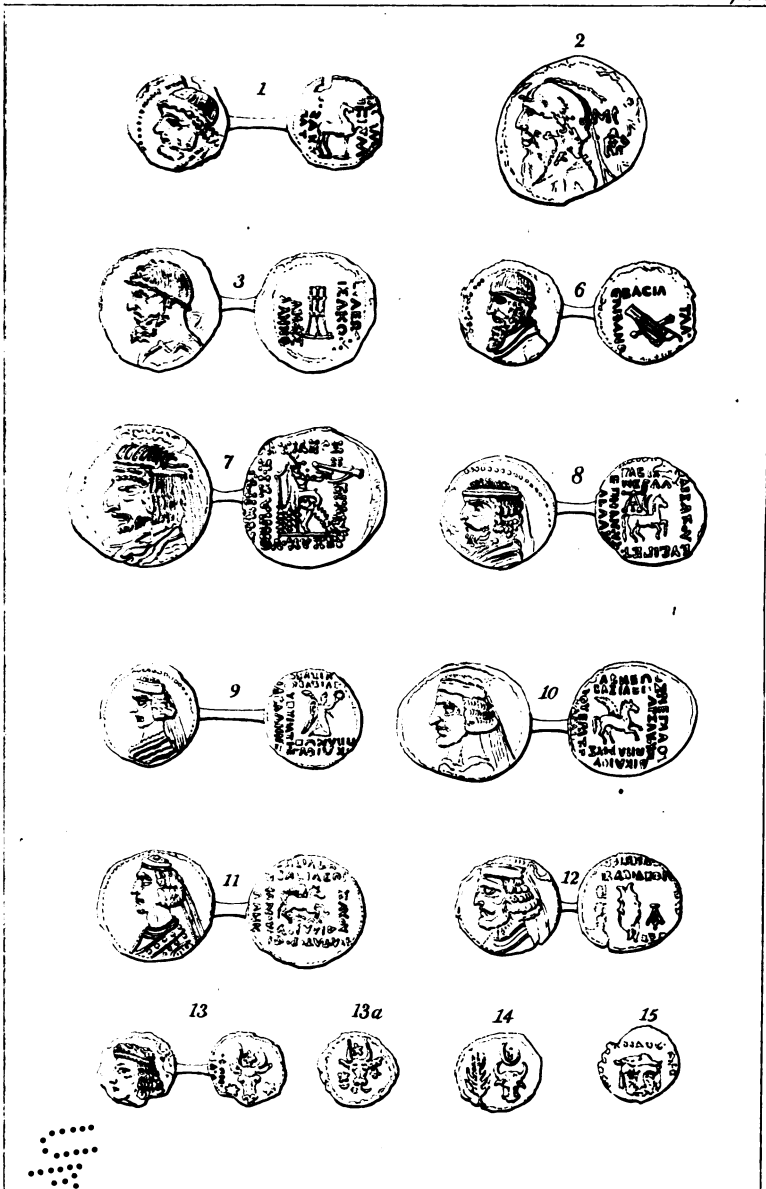
W. B. DICKINSON.

Leamington, February 8th, 1854.

MEDALS OF THE MOST REMARKABLE EDIFICES OF EUROPE.

Under this title, M. J. Wiener of Brussels has commenced the issue of a series of medals illustrating some of the most beautiful mediæval structures in Europe. He purposes issuing a medal regularly every two months, the price of which will be 7 francs 50 centimes each, the series commencing with the Münsterkirche of Aix-la-Chapelle, and terminating with the Church of Saint Sophia at Constantinople. Subscribers to this undertaking may address, Mr. Wiener, 109, Rue Royale extérieure, à St. Josse-ten Noodde, lez-Bruxelles.

2



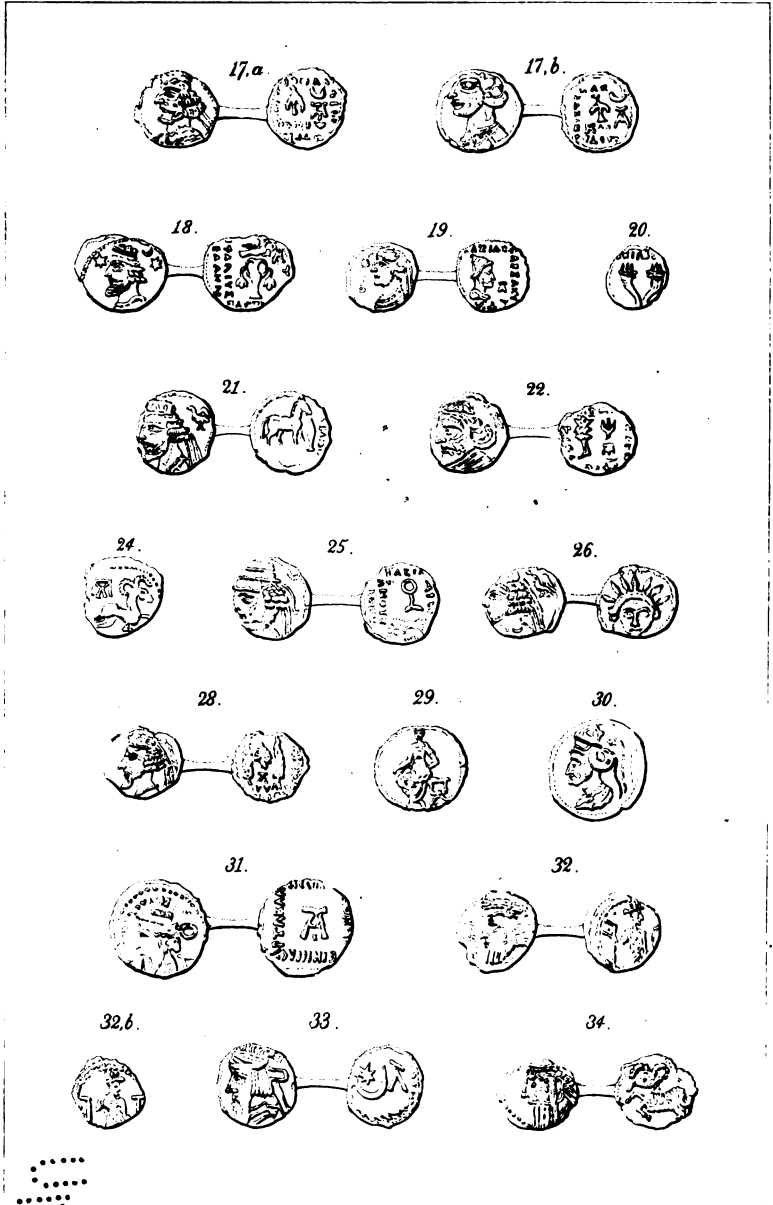
W.F. Miller del.

J. Claghorn sc.

UNPUBLISHED PARTHIAN COINS.
Plate I.



22



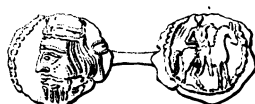
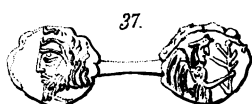
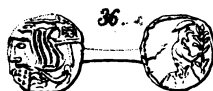
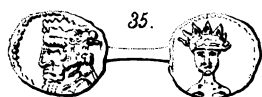
W.F. Millr. del.

J. Cleghorn. sc.

UNPUBLISHED PARTHIAN COINS
Plate II.



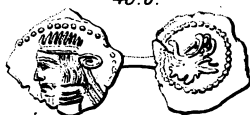
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40. a.



40. b.



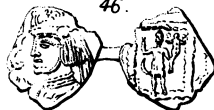
40. c.



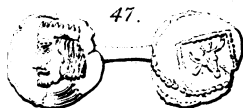
42.



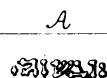
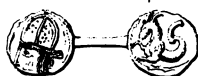
46.



47.



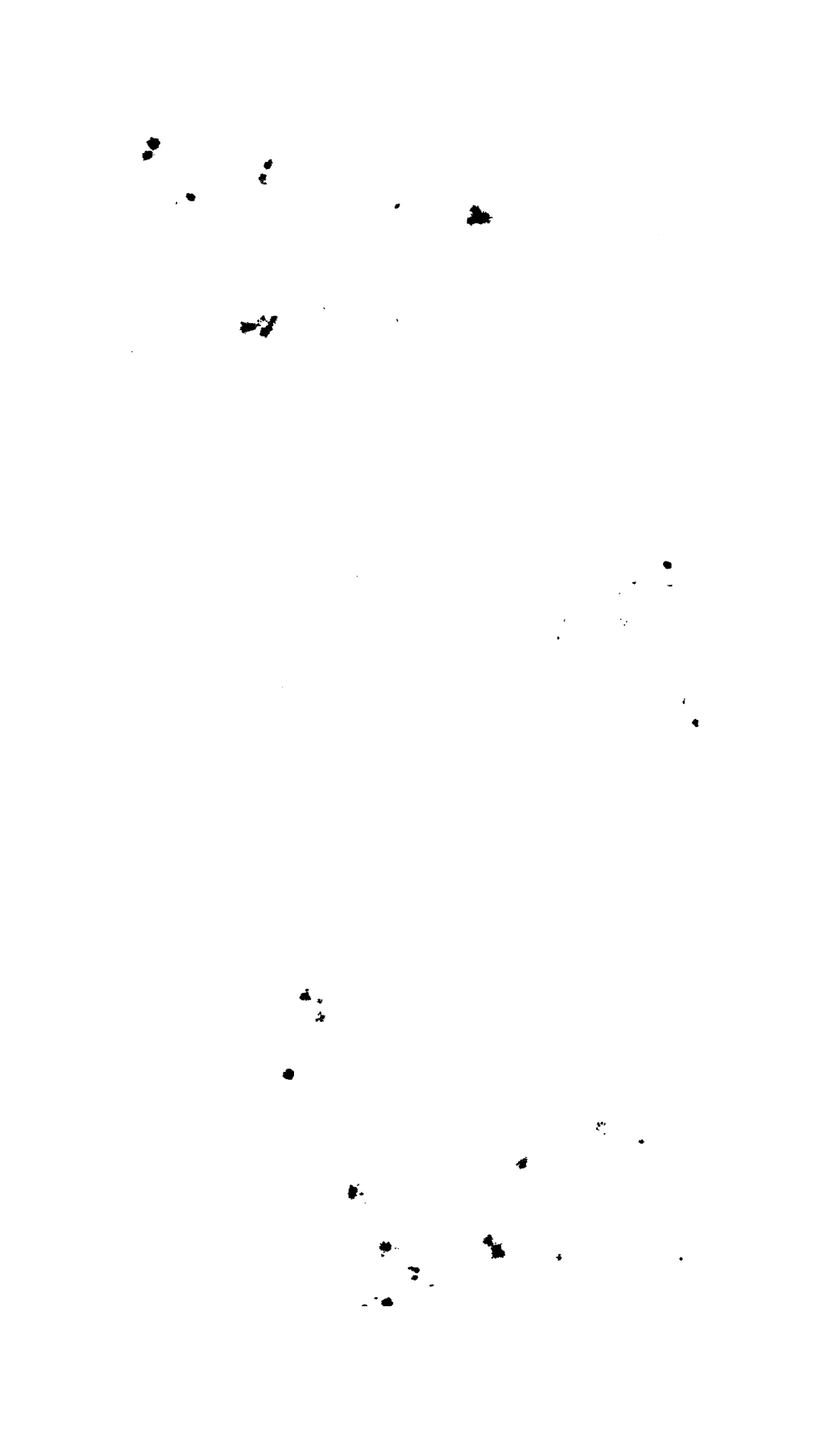
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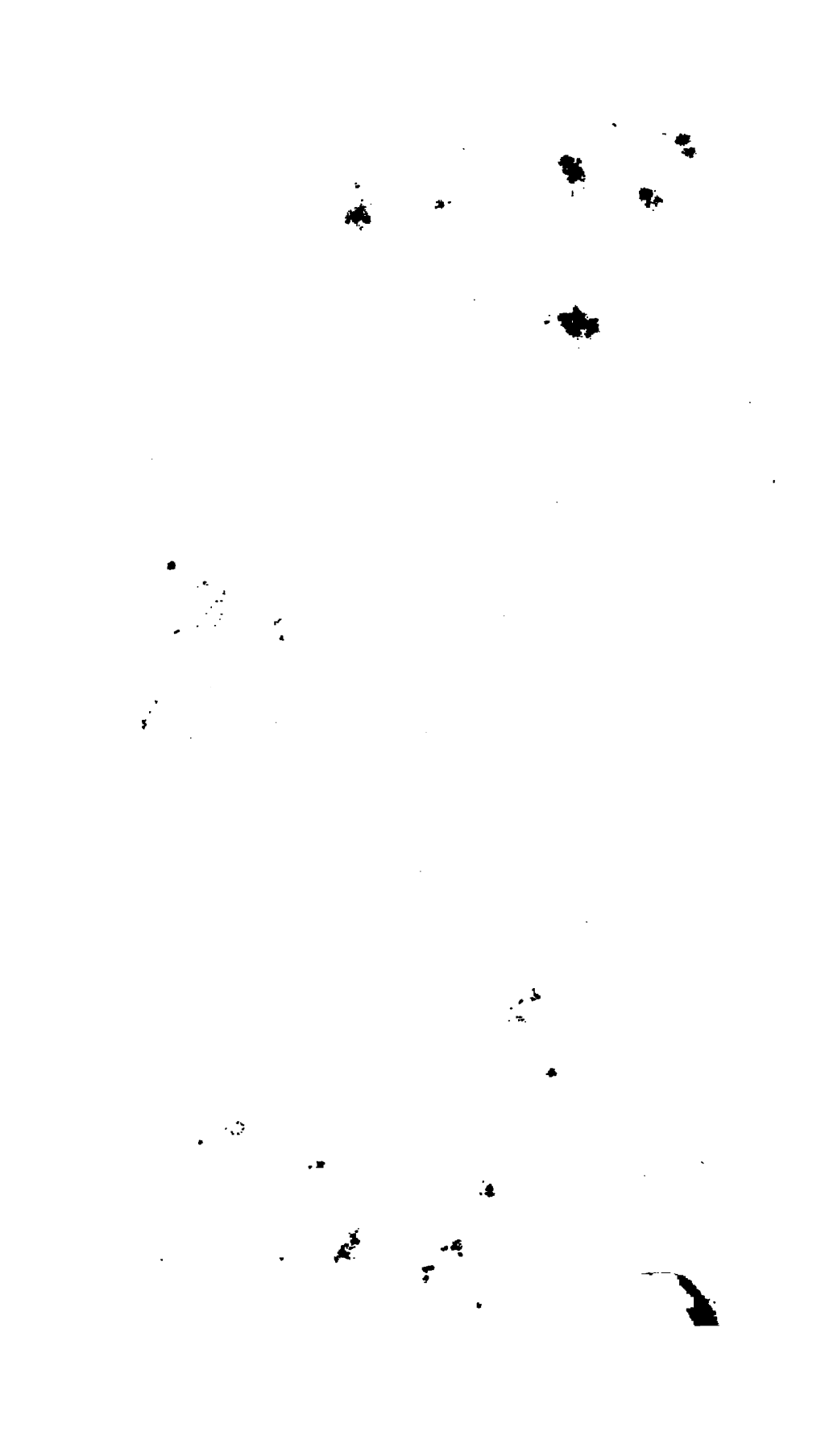


W.F. Müller del.

J. Cleghorn scul.

UNPUBLISHED PARTHIAN COINS.
Plate III.





XXI.

ON PARTHIAN COINS.

By W. H. Scott.

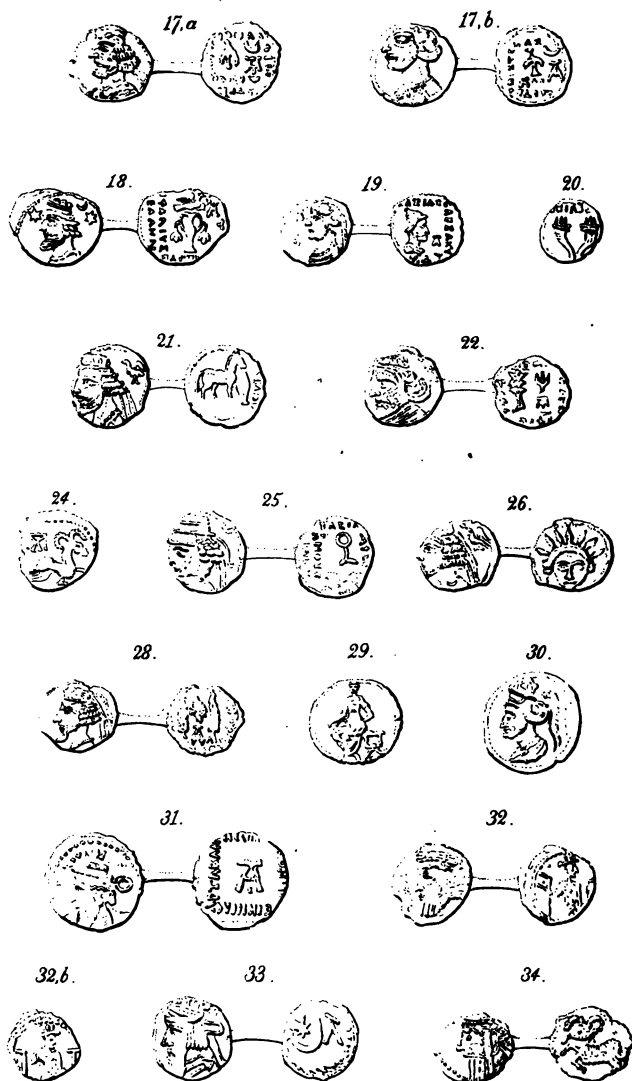
THE numismatic history of Parthia remained somewhat neglected after the time of Visconti, who had examined it in his "Iconographie Grecque," tome iii., until M. Landon-mant, in an essay published in the "Nouvelles Annales de l'Institut Archéologique" for 1839, and M. de Longpérier in the "Revue Numismatique" for 1841, illustrated, the one the coins of the earlier monarchs, the other those of the latest. Still, however, a comprehensive view was wanting. This was only partially supplied by the elaborate essay of M. de Bartholomæi, in the "Memoires de la Société de Numismatique de St. Petersburg" for 1848, as, though he rectified many erroneous attributions, and published many new coins, he did not profess to give a complete account, either of the history or the coins of the Arsacidæ. In 1860, appeared the posthumous "Fragments d'une histoire des Arsacides," left by M. Saint-Martin, who died before the completion of his work, or at any rate before completing it in writing. Imperfect as these fragments are, and under all the disadvantages of their posthumous appearance, a great deal is to be learnt from them. But little relating to the coins, however, is contained in them. Finally, the want already mentioned has lately been supplied by that indefatigable and excellent numismatist, Mr.



W.F. Miller del.

J. Coghlin sc.

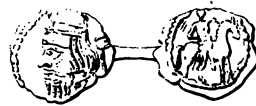
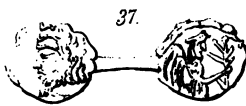
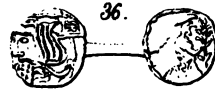
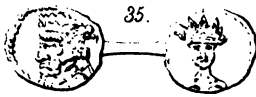
UNPUBLISHED PARTHIAN COINS.
Plate I.



W.F. Millr. del.

J. Cleghorn. sc.

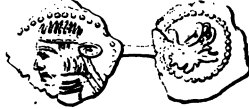
UNPUBLISHED PARTHIAN COINS,
Plate II.



40. a.



40. b.



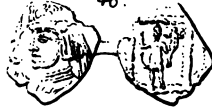
40. c.



42.



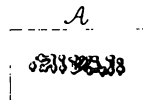
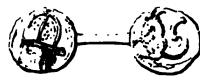
46.



47.



49.



W.F. Müller del.

J. Cleghorn scul.



XXI.

ON PARTHIAN COINS.

BY W. H. SCOTT.

THE numismatic history of Parthia remained somewhat neglected after the time of Visconti, who had examined it in his "Iconographie Grecque," tome iii., until M. Lenormant, in an essay published in the "Nouvelles Annales de l'Institut Archéologique" for 1839, and M. de Longpérier in the "Revue Numismatique" for 1841, illustrated, the one the coins of the earlier monarchs, the other those of the latest. Still, however, a comprehensive view was wanting. This was only partially supplied by the elaborate essay of M. de Bartholomæi, in the "Memoires de la Société de Numismatique de St. Petersburg" for 1848, as, though he rectified many erroneous attributions, and published many new coins, he did not profess to give a complete account, either of the history or the coins of the Arsacidæ. In 1860, appeared the posthumous "Fragments d'une histoire des Arsacides," left by M. Saint-Martin, who died before the completion of his work, or at any rate before completing it in writing. Imperfect as these fragments are, and under all the disadvantages of their posthumous appearance, a great deal is to be learnt from them. But little relating to the coins, however, is contained in them. Finally, the want already mentioned has lately been supplied by that indefatigable and excellent numismatist, Mr.

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T

Lindsay, so well known to all the readers of the Chronicle. As his "View of the Coinage of Parthia" is by this time known to every numismatist who occupies himself with ancient coins, I need say nothing in its praise.

Since the publication of this excellent work, I had an opportunity of acquiring a number of Parthian copper coins; and as a considerable number among them were either new coins, or varieties of those already described, I have devoted the following pages to their description. Owing to the very small number of drachms which I either possess, or have been able to examine in Edinburgh, and so far as I can ascertain, the total absence of tetra-drachms from our collections, I am unable to enter upon a full critical account of the work of Mr. Lindsay. The attributions which he gives to the brass coins are founded on those of the drachms; and wherever I have found it possible, by a comparison of my coins with his plates, and those of M. de Bartholomæi, I have examined, to the best of my power, the grounds of his classifications. Where I could not do this, I have accepted his attributions with all the confidence due to his long study of the subject and ample materials.

Two different dates have been assigned for the foundation of the Parthian empire; some date it from 256 B.C., and this opinion has been adopted by Mr. Lindsay. It appears to me, however, that Saint-Martin, in the work already mentioned, which was unknown to Mr. Lindsay, has more correctly fixed it to the year 250.¹

Justin (xli. 4) makes the statement, that the Parthian revolt took place under the reign of Seleucus, great grandson of Seleucus Nicator, that is, under Seleucus Callinicus, in the year in which L. Manlius Vulso and M. Attilius Regulus

¹ Fragments, vol. i. p. 267, *seq.*; vol. ii. p. 219, *seq.*

were consuls.² Leaving out of view, for the present, the first statement, we may remark, that in the "Fragments of the Capitoline Fasti," published by Pighius,³ the consuls for the year 256 B C. were A. Manlius Vulso and Q. Cædicius; that Cædicius having died in office, M. Atilius Regulus was appointed, or *subrogated*. It has been, accordingly, supposed that Justin had committed an error in speaking of L. Manlius, and that we should substitute the A. Manlius of the Fasti, and date the foundation of the Parthian kingdom from this year. It is, however, well ascertained, that the year took its name, according to Roman usage, from the consuls who inaugurated it; and that the names of the *consules subrogati*, though entered in the Fasti, were not used to designate the year.⁴ This seems decisive as to the point that Justin, or his original, Trogus Pompeius, did not mean the year 256, which was designated in the Fasti as that in which A. Manlius and Q. Cædicius were consuls. In the year 250, according to the Fasti, the consuls were L. Manlius Vulso and C. Atilius Regulus. Here we only require to suppose the blunder, the assumption of which was required by the former opinion, namely, the confusion between the prenomena of the consuls, while we avoid the necessity of contradicting an established usage. By supposing, then, that Justin, or Trogus, had by error written M. for C. Atilius, we arrive at the date 250. In either case, it will be observed, we must suppose an error on the part

² Valpy's edition has Atilius; the difference is unimportant, but the latter form is that occurring on coins, and, consequently, preferable.—*Eckhel*, *D. N.* V. v. 146.

³ Pighii Fasti magistratuum Romanorum, in the eleventh volume of the *Thes. ant. Rom.*, p. 198. This reference, and others marked "S. M.," I borrow from Saint-Martin.

⁴ Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, p. 326. Saint-Martin, ii. p. 250.

of Justin, as he contradicts the *Fasti*; but, as by taking the latter opinion, we find ourselves agreeing with the usage already mentioned, of designating the years by the ordinary consuls, not by the subrogated, while the adoption of the former necessitates the contravention of this usage, it seems to me that we are driven to adopt the date 250 B.C.

The Armenian translation of Eusebius⁵ expressly places the revolt of the Parthians in the third year of the 132nd Olympiad, which corresponds to the year 250. Jerome's Latin translation, and a Greek chronologist, published by Scaliger (*Thes. Temp.*, p. 332), give the date of the first year of the 133rd, corresponding to 248. This is no great difference, or, rather, is a confirmation of the previous date, as the short and troubled reign of Arsaces I. occupied these two years, and is by some, as, for instance, apparently by Justin, unreckoned in the duration of the kingdom.

M. Saint-Martin, from whom I borrow this discussion, quotes next Moses of Khorene, who says that the Parthians freed themselves from the Macedonian yoke in the eleventh year of the reign of Antiochus Theos. This corresponds to 251—250 B.C. The same author says, in another place, that Arsaces began to reign when sixty years had passed after the death of Alexander. Taken literally, he evidently contradicts himself, since sixty years from 323 B.C. only brings us down to 263. Saint-Martin, however, observes that Moses of Khorene, like almost all Oriental historians, confounds the commencement of the Seleucidan era and that of the death of Alexander. This, adding twelve years, brings us as before, to 251—250, and reconciles the two statements of the historian. Mirkhond, avoiding the confusion just mentioned, makes Ashek reign

⁵ Lib. ii. p. 352, ed. Mai. Pars. ii. p. 233, ed. Aucher. S.M.

in Persia seventy-two years after the death of Alexander, which corresponds to the date already given from Eusebius and Moses of Khorene. I may quote yet another authority for this date, the history of Armenia, written by Johannes Catholicos, which was translated by Saint-Martin, and published after his death by the French Government. This historian says, at p. 18—"After the death of Alexander, Seleucus reigned at Babylon . . . His successor was Antiochus, surnamed Soter. They (that is, the Seleucidæ) reigned about sixty years; then the Parthians freed themselves from the Macedonian yoke." He thus fixes the commencement of the Parthian kingdom about sixty years after the commencement of that of Seleucus, and avoids the error already mentioned as existing in Moses of Khorene. As he mentions having used the work of the latter, and yet does not reproduce this error, it is evident that he had other authorities for this date, which he, perhaps, drew from the Chaldee books written in the time of Tiberius, and preserved at Niniva and Edessa, which he (p. 15) mentions as if he had seen them, or from the chronicle which Mar Has Cadina had translated from the Greek by order of Valarsaces, king of Armenia, as there is some reason (p. 385) for supposing him to have used this work, now lost, which was known also to Moses of Khorene.⁶

⁶ This reason is, that Johannes has presented to us a name which is omitted by Moses of Khorene, who gives only a few extracts from the work of Mar Ibas. Johannes must, accordingly, as appears, also, from what I have remarked in the text, have consulted authorities now lost to us. The work of Mar Ibas, as already mentioned, was translated into Syriac from a Greek chronicle, which he found "at the court of the kings of Persia," probably at Susa, and which had been translated by order of Alexander from the Chaldee. It is not impossible that this means, from the cuneiform character, as it has been recently ascertained by discoveries at Warka, that this character was still

Thus it would seem, that for the date 256 there is one piece of evidence, which involves a contradiction of a Roman custom, while for that of 250 we have the direct statements of several historians. I consider, then, that the latter date is satisfactorily established for the revolt of Arsaces against Pherecles, governor of Parthyene. Justin, as already mentioned, places this event under the reign of Seleucus Callinicus. It is well ascertained, however, that the death of Antiochus Theos took place in the year corresponding to 247—246 B.C., so that Seleucus was not on the throne till some time after the revolt. It is not impossible, as I shall mention further on, that this contradiction may be owing to the careless manner in which he epitomised Trogus. Appian agrees with Justin in stating that the revolt of the Parthians took place under Seleucus Callinicus. It appears to me that these and other discrepancies are to be reconciled only by admitting the idea brought forward by Saint-Martin, that there really were two revolts—the one in 250 by Arsaces, who after two years was slain in battle, the other some years later by Tiridates, who had taken his name. I shall develop this idea further on.

Arsaces and Tiridates are stated by Arrian, in an extract preserved by Photius, to have been, as I understood

in use under Seleucus and Antiochus. It was formerly supposed by commentators, that the mention in the Scriptures of the Persian archives obliged us to suppose these archives kept in a cursive character, as the cuneiform was not well adapted for such a purpose. This is, however, rendered doubtful, by the discovery at Nimrud of what had apparently been an archive-chamber; and it is easy to suppose all the documents to have been properly arranged on shelves or otherwise, although, by the disappearance of these, and the ruin of the palace, they seem now to form a confused mass. It is within the range of possibility that such a chamber may yet be discovered at Susa, where there certainly were royal archives.

the passage, descended from Arsaces, son of Phriapites.⁷ According to the Syncellus, they claimed descent from Artaxerxes Mnemon, who bore before his accession the name Ἀρσίκᾱ, according to Ctesias, which has been by all writers identified with Arsaces. Both these accounts would appear to give them a Persian origin, as the names Phriapites and Tiridates are unquestionably Persian. The Parthian language was, however, according to Justin, a mixture of Scythic and Median, which latter was nearly the same with Persian. Strabo states Arsaces to have been a Scythian, of the Dahæ, but says that some called him a Bactrian, and the Syncellus says he ruled over Bactria. M. Saint-Martin observes that this is hardly contradictory, as the Scythians, among whom were the Dahæ, certainly inhabited Bactriana. Thus Arsaces might be called, with equal justice, a Scythian or a Bactrian; and it was probably the occurrence of both statements which induced Justin to call him "a man of uncertain origin."

In the year 250 B.C., Arsaces and his brother Tiridates, having left Bactria in consequence of the revolt of Diodotus (Strabo xi. 9, 3), sought refuge in Parthia. Pherecles, the governor of the province, having grossly insulted Tiridates, was slain by Arsaces, who at once revolted from the Seleucidan power. Whether, before this time, Arsaces had held any sway in Bactria, or over a part of it, under the eparch

⁷ Ἀρσάκης καὶ Τηριδάτης ἦσθιν ἀδελφῶ Ἀρσακίδαι, τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀρσάκου τοῦ φριαπίτου ἀπόγονοι. Lassen (Ind. Alt. ii. 285, note 3), understands the passage to call them descendants of Phriapites, son of Arsaces. He gives as the etymology of the name Phriapites, which recurs in the Parthian history, the zend *Friya-paitis*, which he states to correspond in meaning to φιλοπάτωρ. He had elsewhere remarked that the second part of the name might be either *pita*, "father," or *pati*, "lord."

Agathocles, as we find stated by the Syncellus, it is difficult to say ; but it is rendered more probable by the statement of Strabo, that Arsaces fled before Diodotus, as this cannot be so well understood on any other supposition. Arsaces passed two years in constant combats, and was slain in battle by the blow of a lance. We have no accounts of the state of Parthia after his death, in the year 248, for some time ; but it may be supposed, with some show of reason, that Tiridates was driven out of the province, as we find it stated in Strabo, that " Arsaces, a Scythian, having under his command certain of the Dahæ, the nomade Parni, dwelling on the Oxus, entered and took possession of Parthia." It is better to place this statement here, as it manifestly does not agree with the former one relating to the brothers, and to suppose that Tiridates, on or shortly after the death of his brother, had abandoned Parthia, and fled to these Dahæ, whom he induced to assist him in reconquering the province. To this expedition, also, apply the words of Justin, xli. 4, " that Arsaces, a man of uncertain origin and of tried valour, but accustomed to live by robberies, having heard that Seleucus had been slain by the Gauls, collected an army, invaded Parthia, killing the Macedonian prefect Andragoras, and retained it." Justin is thus (as he apparently considered this as the foundation of the kingdom) justified in placing it in the reign of Seleucus Callinicus, while he has probably omitted the particulars relative to the revolt of the brothers, preserving only the date given by Trogus, which he has added, without perceiving the discrepancy. Frœlich places the defeat of Seleucus at Ancyra, in the year 243 B.C., while Droysen, according to Lassen (*Ind. Alt. ii. 286*, note), prefers 241. In any case, several years must have elapsed between the death of Arsaces and the return of Tiridates, although

Tiridates most probably dated his reign from 248; the examples of Charles II. and Louis XVIII. will render this probable.

I do not propose to carry any further my remarks upon the history of Parthia. I have thought it proper, however, to discuss these points, which had been summarily treated by Mr. Lindsay, as the work of Saint-Martin was unknown to him, and is not readily, I believe, to be obtained.

The earliest coins which I possess are, unfortunately, in a very indifferent state of preservation, so that I cannot class them with any degree of confidence. I see, however, on the two coins to which I refer a diademed head to right, resembling that on the brass coin, No. 1, plate 7, of Mr. Lindsay's work.⁸

R.—Indistinct traces of a legend, and the type of Victory to right, holding up a garland, precisely as on No. 5 in the same plate. Æ. 2½.

These coins may possibly belong to Artabanus, but better specimens must decide. I commence my list with the next coin, which I can class with confidence to

ARSACES IV., PHRIAPITES.

1.—Diademed bearded head of Phriapites to left.

R.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΓΓΛΑ... ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ... ΠΑΤ.. Horse pacing to right. Æ. 2½.

This coin has more resemblance to No. 4, plate 1, of M. de Bartholomæi's, than to any in Mr. Lindsay's. The singularly ill-formed letters agree in shape more nearly with those found on that coin, as they also do with those on

⁸ For the sake of brevity, I shall refer to Mr. Lindsay's plates and those of De Bartholomæi, by L and B respectively.

a very good specimen of No. 8, plate 1, L., which I possess. The fabric of my coin is very good, as is, according to M. de Bartholomæi, that of his coin ; but the letters are small, and very ill formed.

I am inclined to suppose that Mr. Lindsay has correctly separated and classed the coins of Arsaces III., IV., and V. The coins classed by him to Arsaces IV. and V. offer an anomaly in the arrangement of the legends, but still it is hardly possible to place them elsewhere. The first of all, Plate 1, No. 1, have the legend disposed in two parallel lines, the name preceding the table ; the next, Nos. 2 to 4, begin behind the seated figure, and continue round the coin. On these the legend is *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΤ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΤ*. The next class, with a different obverse portrait, retain this legend and its arrangement. There can, then, be no doubt that these are correctly arranged ; and it is pretty certain that the first and second, which have the same head, belong to Tiridates, the third to Artabanus I. The next class, however, Nos. 7—10, have a new portrait, and an entirely different arrangement of the legend, namely, in four parallel lines, commencing with the royal title, in front of the seated figure. On these coins occurs the title *ΘΕΟΠΑΤΩΡ*, *son of a deified father*. Nos. 11 and 12 continue this arrangement of the legend, but change the title into *ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ*, *brother-loving*, and have a perfectly different portrait. Now, however, on the next coins (13—16) we see a return to the old arrangement of the legend, as on 2—6, but with the additional title in exergue, *ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ*, *illustrious*. This title suits no monarch but Arsaces VI. ; and the later occurrence on the same coins of the title *king of kings*, is sufficient to fix to his reign both classes. Although there is a return to the older arrangement of the legends, it is impossible to place these coins any higher in the series.

ARSACES VI.

- 2.—Diademed head of Mithradates to left, with long beard.
Behind, the letters ~~MI~~ above a monogram.

R.—ΒΑΣΙΔΕΩΣ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ...ΑΛΟΥ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙ-
ΦΑΝΟΥΣ. Head of a horse to right. Æ. 5.

The letters and monograms on this coin occur on the obverse of No. 13 in Mr. Lindsay's *Descriptive Catalogue*, quoted from De Bartholomæi, p. 31, pl. 2, 26. This coin, however, has a different type, and is of smaller size. De Bartholomæi decomposes the monogram into ΘPI , and joins to these letters the MI above. He does not think that the word thus gained, $MI\Theta PI$, can refer to the name of Mithradates, but suspects it may refer to some town receiving its name from him, or to the Ized Mithra. As *Mithradates* was, however, the proper form of the name, it seems to me doubtful whether any of these explanations are admissible, independently of the consideration that no instance is, so far as I am aware, known, of a name being expressed either by two monograms, or by free letters added to a monogram. In the present example, besides, this was unnecessary, as the letters M and I are already contained in the monogram. My last objection is, that I do not think that the letter Θ is contained in the monogram at all, such a form as would here be found being uncommon anywhere, and not found elsewhere on the Parthian coins. The monogram is simple, but admits of too many combinations to allow me to propose a reading of it.

- 3.—Diademed head of Mithradates to left, with short beard, resembling somewhat No. 4., plate 7, of Mr. Lindsay.

R.—...ΔΕΩΣ...ΣΑΚΟΥ. ΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ...ΛΗΝΟΣ. Tripod.
Æ. 3½.

This coin offers a combination of titles rather different

from any yet published. It is not well preserved, but every letter is distinct, as far as the legend goes. It must have been struck after his conquest of Seleucia, when the Greeks, to conciliate his favour, bestowed on him the title of Philhellene. This title is not often found on his coins, however.

4.—Head of Mithradates to left, with tiara and long beard.

R.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. Pegasus. Æ. 4.

This is a well preserved and legible specimen of the coin given by M. de Bartholomæi, pl. iii. 31, which Mr. Lindsay has inadvertently described as having an obverse diadem (No. 15, Descriptive Catalogue).

5.—Diademed head of Mithradates to left, with long beard, similar to pl. 7, No. 7. L.

R.—Legend and type as No. 8, pl. 7. L. Æ. 3½.

This is a variety of the coins described and engraved by Mr. Lindsay, which have on obverse a head with tiara.

6.—Diademed head of Mithradates to left, with long beard.

R.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕ...ΓΑΛΟ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟ ... Bow-case, or corytus, in which is a bow. Across it is an uncertain object, apparently not an arrow, perhaps a mace.

This is the object called by Mr. Lindsay a quiver, but which, on my coin, is distinctly seen to be a bow-case, with a bow contained in it.

A comparison with the coins of Olbiopolis, such as that engraved by Pellerin, *Recueil L. xxxvi. 16*, shows this clearly.

It appears to me, from a comparison with a specimen which I possess, that the type of No. 9, pl. 7, L., really shows a Victory holding a transverse palm branch, and presenting a garland.

The singular coin, No. 10, pl. 7, L., is not Parthian at all, but belongs to some unascertained sub-Parthian dynasty. A similar coin is in the British Museum, but a comparison does not clear up the legends. The small coin engraved by Mr. Lindsay, Pl. 10, No. 15, belongs to the same class.

ARSACES VII.

7.—Diademed head of Phraates to left.

R.—Usual legend and type, as No. 24 of Mr. Lindsay's, pl. 1; but the titles ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ are here placed in the contrary direction, so as to lead continuously around the coin. Thus their order is reversed, the title ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ occupying the outer line. *Æ.* drachm.

ARSACES X. (?)

8.—Diademed head to left, resembling that on No. 37, pl. 2, L., or much more that on No. 43, pl. 3, of M. de Bartholomæi.

R.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤ... ΕΠΙ-ΦΑΝΟΥΣ... ΔΕΛΛΗΝ... Pegasus to right; above, the monogram TA. *Æ.* 3½.

We do not even know the name of this monarch, and it is only by conjecture that the name Mnaskires, mentioned by Lucian as that of a Parthian king, is applied to him. Although nothing whatever is known of Mnaskires beyond the fact that he lived to the age of ninety-six, it is probable that Arsaces X., whether he be Mnaskires or not, coined money; and I am disposed to think that Mr. Lindsay has correctly classed to him several coins previously classed to other monarchs. I except, however, the last class, in which the tiara is finally rejected for the simple diadem, such as is seen upon the present coin.

I cannot see a very great degree of resemblance between the heads on this class and the others classed by Mr. Lindsay to Mnaskires, and I am much disposed to give the class with a diadem to Sanatruces, who is known to have

been eighty years of age when he ascended the throne. For this reason, the known age of Sanatrœces, I object to classing to him the coins 38, 39, which evidently belong to a much younger man. From a careful comparison of the plates of Messrs. Lindsay and De Bartholomæi, I have been led to suppose, that those coins which bear the title $\Phi\Lambda\omicron\pi\alpha\tau\omega\pi$, *father-loving*, belong to the period when Phraates III. reigned along with his father Sanatrœces, which we are expressly told that he did. The title is very appropriate to such a period. Then, on the death of Sanatrœces, come the drachms classed by Mr. Lindsay to Phraates, which drop the title $\Phi\Lambda\omicron\pi\alpha\tau\omega\pi$, now no longer applicable, and assume those of $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\pi\iota\alpha\tau\omega\pi$, *the Deity, son of a beneficent father*, the well-descended *Deity*. If we did not know that Phraates assumed the title *Theos*, I should have supposed the legend intended to signify, by a somewhat barbarous, or Parthian, construction, it is true, *son of a beneficent Deity*.

The first class of coins of Phraates are, then, those with $\Phi\Lambda\omicron\pi\alpha\tau\omega\pi$; the second, those just mentioned, with $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\pi\iota\alpha\tau\omega\pi$; and the third, retaining these pompous titles, adds that of *king of kings*, unused since the glorious days of Mithradates.

To the third class belong the coins I am about to describe.

9.—Diademed head of Phraates to left.

R.— $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕ...ΒΑΣΙΛΕ...ΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡ...ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟ}$. Victory walking to right, with palm branch and garland. Æ. 2½.

10.—Diademed head of Phraates to left, resembling almost exactly Pl. 2, No. 40.

R.— $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΔΙ-}$
 $\text{ΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ...ΟΥ ΕΠΑΤ.....ΦΙΛΕΛ-}$
 ΛΗΝ.. Pegasus. Æ. 4.

This coin is particularly well preserved, and from its youthful appearance, it shows that Phraates did not long delay after his father's death the assumption of the title *king of kings*.

I do not pretend that the arrangement I have indicated is unexceptionable, for I see that several objections may be made to it; but it removes at least the anomaly of classing to a man of more than eighty years of age coins evidently belonging to a younger person. The difficulty of classing among themselves the coins of Phraates III. is still very great, and to me, obliged to rely upon engravings alone, insuperable. For instance, I have considered as the earliest class, struck during his joint sovereignty, the coins with *great king* and *Philopator*, and certainly these must have preceded those with the title *king of kings*. Yet one coin combines the title *king of kings* with *Philopator*, while others with *great king* have the titles *Theos eupator*, which, according to my ideas, show them struck after the death of Sanatroëces.

The very remarkable coin with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΤΟΝΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ* adds to the difficulties, as this legend would certainly lead me to place it before those with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ*, yet, though omitting *Theos*, it has the title *Eupator*. The legends themselves will best show the difficulty of arranging them—

- | | | |
|---------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| 1. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. | . . . | ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. |
| 2. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. | . . . | ΘΕΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. |
| 3. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΨΟΝΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. | . . . | ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. |
| 4. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. | . . . | ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. |
| 5. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. | . . . | ΘΕΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. |

ARSACES XIII.

- 11.—Diademed head of Mithradates III. to left, resembling No. 49, pl. 4, of De Bartholomæi.

R.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ
ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΥ. Pe-
gasus. Æ. 3½.

Mr. Lindsay leaves it doubtful whether this class of coins may not belong to the earliest coinage of Orodes, and I am unable to decide the point. The head resembles that of Orodes, but this may be merely the natural resemblance of brothers, as both were sons of Phraates III. The title ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΩΡ is equally appropriate to either, or to speak more correctly, inappropriate to either, since the infamy attaching to the murder of their father was common to both princes.

The coins of Orodes are not easy to distinguish from those of his successor, more especially from the careless manner in which these small coins are struck, and often the inferior condition of the specimens which I possess. I have, however, separated them to the best of my ability, taking as my guide the continuous profile and pointed beard of Arsaces XV.

12.—Diademed bust of Orodes to left, behind which a star and crescent.

R.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ..... Fish, as No. 36, pl. 8, L. In field to right a monogram, resembling that on No. 34, pl. 8, L., but without the cross-bar above.

On this coin the profile is unquestionably that of Orodes ; that given by Mr. Lindsay is classed by him to Phraates. I am unable to explain the type. I may, however, refer to a very curious Mithraic bas-relief given by Mr. Layard,⁹ on which, among other symbols and animals, *a fish* occurs, placed on a tripod.

⁹ Recherches sur la culte du cyprès pyramidal, pl. 7, 6. Mémoires de l'Institut. Acad. des Inscriptions, tome xx.

13.—Diademed head of Orodes (?) to left, behind which an eagle.

R.—Full-faced head of a bull, with long crescentic horns. Between the horns a star. On each side, just below the eyes, a star and a crescent. Æ. 1½.

14.—Similar head to left.

R.—Same type, but without the adjuncts. To left an ear of corn upright. Æ. 2.

A somewhat similar head occurs on No. 69, pl. 9, L., and the whole animal appears on No. 72, pl. 9, L., both of Artabanus IV. The coins just described are, however, much earlier, and the only doubt is, whether they may not be of Phraates. I believe them, however, of Orodes.

The regularly crescentic horns of the bull, which is known to have been consecrated to the moon, reminds me of the Egyptian mummied bulls, in which, when the horns were not properly crescentic, so as to offer an image of the moon, they were sawn to the proper shape.¹⁰

15.—Diademed head of Orodes to left, behind which an eagle.

R.—Fragments only of the usual legend. Full-faced head of a tiger (?). Æ. 1½.

I am by no means confident as to the explanation of this type, but it appears to me what I have stated. Some

¹⁰ Compare also the beautifully regular horns of the bull seen on the black obelisk (Layard ii. 435). The comparisons with Assyrian antiquities, which I shall have occasion to make, seem to show, somewhat in opposition to the received opinion, that the Mithraic religion, most or all of whose rites appear to be derived from the Assyrian, was not really so much neglected or opposed during the Parthian rule as has been supposed. There is, however, little or no evidence for such a supposition beyond the Parsee traditions; and whether the monarchs themselves professed it or not, the mass of the people must have continued to do so.

Persian gems in the British Museum have the device of a tiger's head full-faced, with Pehlvi legends, but I have not had an opportunity of seeing them.¹¹

16.—Diademed head to left, with the adjuncts of a star before, a star and crescent behind.

R.—Traces of the usual legend. Uncertain symbol, analogous to that seen on reverse of Nos. 52, 53, 54, pl. 3, L. On No. 54 the figure is formed by two such objects turned in different directions. In field to right, a crescent, below which a monogram. Æ. 1½.

17.—Diademed head with aquiline nose, resembling the heads on Nos. 52, 53, pl. 3, L., but with the usual thin neck of Phraates.

R.—Remains of a legend, and types as on the last coin. Æ. 2.

The uncertain object or symbol appears on obverse of a drachm of Arsaces X. (Pl. 8, No. 36, L.), and behind the throne on the reverse of several of Arsaces XV., as Nos. 52, 53, 54. I give on plate 3 several forms of this symbol, taken from drachms of the same class. I believe that this symbol, which is certainly not an anchor, is identical with the trident, so-called, which occurs on obverse of a class of sub-Parthian coins, of which No. 10, pl. 8, L., and No. 15, pl. 10, L., are specimens; and I am much inclined to compare it with a similar figure, but reversed and pointing upwards, found on a tablet at Bavian (Layard, Nineveh and Babylon, p. 11). I do not know whether the *bident*, or crescent, from the lower part of which descends a line, to be found on the coins of Rhescuporis of the Bosphorus, can

¹¹ See Nos. 36, 37, 42, in Mr. Thomas's paper, "Notes on Pehlvi Coins and Gems."—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xiii. 1852.

be compared with these objects, but I believe they are connected in some way with the Persian fire-worship.¹²

18.—Diademed head to left. Before, a star; behind, a crescent and star.

R.—Fragments of the usual legends. Æ. 2.

The type appears to me to represent a bird (the Roman eagle?) perched on a vessel (?) resembling an amphora. On each side of the vessel, connected with its upper part, is what appears a bunch of grapes, but which may perhaps be a symbol analogous to the so-called *anchor*, one of the component parts of which is a crescent. Before the bird is the monogram TA.

I am quite unable to give any explanation of this curious type. Although I possess three specimens, I hesitate as to the details. A bird, of what species I am uncertain, appears in the bas-relief already mentioned, and forms the type of Nos. 17, 26, 27, pl. 8, L. It is not impossible that the bird, which certainly in the bas-relief resembles a crow more than an eagle, represents the *celestial crow*, the

¹² On the coins of Rhescuporis the symbol has the horns of the crescent pointing upwards, while a very similar object, figured by Layard ii. 446, has the prongs turned down. This last resembles the *trident* seen on the coins, No. 10, pl. 7, L., and No. 15, pl. 10, L., but wants the central stroke.

I find engraved in the Catalogue Allier de Hauteroche, Pl. 12, No. 21, a coin of Perperene in Mysia, which has for type a star and crescent; but it is evident that this crescent is not a mere image of the moon, but the representation of some *amulet*, or *sacred instrument*, for it has attached to the centre of its convex side a ring, by which it was of course suspended. As, however, on the coin the horns point upwards as usual, while the ring shows that it was intended to be worn in the opposite position, I think myself entitled in comparing these symbols to disregard their position.

Eorosh, mentioned in various Zend liturgies.¹³ I do not scruple to mention these in explanation of the Parthian types, as, although in their present form they are certainly much later, the doctrines contained in them are, doubtless, in great part transmitted by tradition from the ancient Persian religion, which received much from the Assyrian. The Parthians themselves may not have adopted, or approved of the Mithraic religion, although we have but little evidence of their having neglected it; but the great mass of their subjects must have retained it, more especially in Mesopotamia, etc., where most of the copper coins were probably struck.

The heads upon these coins resemble so much that on Nos. 52, 53, pl. 3, that it is certain they belong to the issuer of these coins, whether he is Orodes, or, as Mr. Lindsay conjectures, Tiridates, who occupied for a short time the throne of Phraates. I am much inclined to suppose, from a comparison with the brass coins, that these doubtful coins belong to Orodes, and not to Phraates or Tiridates; but my means of forming a decision are not sufficient.

19.—Diademed head, probably of Orodes, to left.

R.—.....ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ..... Head to right,
with a conical cap. Before, the monogram ΤΑ.
Æ. 1½.

This is not the usual female turreted head, probably the head of the city Seleucia. The features are indistinct on so small a coin, but it is probably a male head, that of some subordinate king. The cap has some resemblance to that worn by the princes of Edessa, but it is more regularly conical, while the cap on the Edessene coins is curved at

¹³ Anquetil Duperron, *Zendavesta* i. p. 229, note; ii. p. 216, 293.

the sides¹⁴. It is not impossible that it may be the head of *Maanu Aloho, Mannus, the deity*, who was contemporary with Orodes.

20.—Diademed head of Orodes to left.

R.—Two cornucopiæ, around which traces of the usual legend. Æ. 1.

21.—Diademed head of Orodes to left, behind which an eagle.

R.—Fragments of the usual legends. Horse standing to right. Before him, and below his head, something resembling an upright ear of corn, but which is more probably a cypress-tree. Æ. 2.

The connection of the cypress-tree with the worship of fire, more especially as consecrated to the moon, has been shown by Mr. Layard. Horses have in the East always been consecrated to the sun, and Mr. Layard has given proofs of their dedication also to *Anahid, Tanat, or Nanaia*, Venus, who was identical with the moon. This is by no means inconsistent, as the moon and sun are merely the female and male manifestations of light, or rather of that divinity from whom light was an emanation.¹⁵ It is very

¹⁴ It reproduces exactly the pointed helmet of the Assyrian horsemen. Layard, *passim*.

¹⁵ Compare the very interesting remarks and *rapprochements* of Raoul-Rochette (Notice sur quelques médailles de la Bactriane, 1834, p. 16, and notes). Herodotus (book i. 131.) says that the Persians called Venus Urania by the name *Mitra*. Mithra is really an androgynous deity, like all the old Asiatic divinities. Compare *Lunus, Luna*, and the Paphian Venus, who was also worshipped in Cyprus as a bearded divinity, *Aphroditos*.

M. Waddington (Revue Numismatique, 1853, p. 33), in classing, as he does definitively, to Perga the coins reading MANAΨΑΣ ΠΡΕΪΙΑΣ, and not ΠΡΕΝΑΣ, makes some interesting remarks on this legend. He presumes *Preyias* to correspond in the Pamphylian language to *Pergaias*, as *Estfedyus* does probably to *Aspendus*. The inference is, that *Manapsa* corresponds to the

probable that the object on No. 14, which I have called an ear of corn, is really a cypress.

22.—Diademed head of Orodes to left. Behind, a star and crescent.

R.—Traces of the usual legend. A branch of a tree (?), upright. To right, an uncertain symbol, composed of a crescent intersected by a perpendicular. Below it, the usual monogram. *Æ.* 1½.

I only possess one specimen of this curious little coin,

Artemis found on the Pergæan coins. He is inclined to see a connection between *Manapsa* and *Men*, corresponding to *Lunus*, but hesitates partly, because the Ψ has a square form, like some Phœnician characters, so that we cannot be quite certain of the reading *Manapsa*. He compares *Tanat*, *Minerva*, to the feminine form of *Tan*, *Jupiter*.

As there is some doubt, he thinks, as to the reading, I may be allowed to propose a conjecture. I conjecture, then, that the uncertain letter may be a reminiscence of the archaic form, preserved for some religious motive, and that it corresponds to the Phœnician Ψ , S. This gives the name *Manas*; and by a similar dialectic change to what we see in *Aturia*, *Assyria*, we may consider this as originally *Manat*. I need hardly point out that *Manat*, *m-n-t*, is the feminine form of *Men*, *m-n*, thus confirming M. Waddington's idea, and showing that the so-called *Pergæan Diana*, *Juno Pronuba*, etc., are mere local modifications of the lunar deity, worshipped in Persia as *Anahid*.

As to how far this goddess may be identified with the *Mandt* (منادة) of the Arabs, I do not venture to offer an opinion, in the doubts which still hang over so much of the early religion of these people, and which have not been dispelled by the elaborate paper of Dr. Osiander, in vol. vii. of the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, part iv. He, at p. 497, compares with *Mandt*, the Chaldee מני *Meni* (Isaiah lxx. 11. In the authorised version the name is translated), as well as the Μηνη of Greek and Asiatic mythology, but remains in doubt whether *Manat* was the moon, or some star also worshipped by the Arabs, as *Sirius*, etc.

I may go a little further, and taking advantage of the commutability of *n* and *l*, a commutability proved beyond dispute, independently of etymological or paleographic considerations, by the remark of M. de Sauley (*Travels in Syria*), that the Syrian

and am by no means confident as to the nature of the object which I have called a branch. A close examination shows that it has seven points. It is a curious coincidence that in one of the Pehlvi liturgies, the Bahman Jescht, two wondrous trees are shown by Ormuzd to Zertuscht, one with four branches of metal, the other with seven.¹⁶ Without venturing to assert any connection between the type and this, which may, however, be traditional, and older than the book in which it is contained, I merely record the apparent coincidence.

ARSACES XV.

23.—Diademed head of Phraates to left, behind which a Victory.

R.—Turreted female head to right, A behind. Around, vestiges only of a legend. Æ. 2½.

This coin shows, what indeed was otherwise probable, that the building crowned by Victory, on No. 32, pl. 8, L., is really the back of the monarch's head, the rows of hair, elaborately curled, representing the layers of stone.

24.—Similar head to left.

R.—Mountain goat, with large spreading horns to right. Above, an uncertain monogram. Æ. 2.

This type occurs more than once on gems bearing Pehlvi legends,¹⁷ but has not yet been seen on Parthian coins. The goat appears, however, in the Assyrian sculptures.¹⁸

Arabs pronounce with *n* words written with *l*, e.g., *Ismaîn*, the well-known proper name *Ismail*, I would compare *Manat*, *m-n-t*, with *Mykitta*, *m-l-t*. The comparison of the latter name with *Baalat*, *b-l-t*, has been made long ago, and requires no explanation.

¹⁶ Zendavesta, i., pt. ii., p. 18, 19.

¹⁷ Thomas, *l. c.*, Nos. 38—41.

¹⁸ Layard, ii. 296.

25.—Similar head to left.

R.—Fragments of the usual legend. In field, the uncertain symbol which occurs as a type on the coins of Vologeses III., so ably explained by Mr. Thomas.¹⁹ Æ. 2.

This symbol occurs as an adjunct on an Achæmenian coin, classed by M. de Luynes to Soli,²⁰ and on uncertain Indo-Parthian coins, with the Parthian type of a figure seated presenting a bow, but with a portrait which, on my specimens at least, does not present sufficient resemblance to justify their classification to any Persian Arsacide.²¹

It is possibly a mere modification of the Asiatic *crux ansata*.

26.—Diademed head of Phraates to left. An eagle behind.

R.—Full-faced radiated head of the sun (?). Æ. 2.

¹⁹ Numismatic Chronicle, vol. xii., p. 98.

²⁰ Numismatique des Satrapies, p. 64, pl. 12. A similar coin is engraved by Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, 1773, Pl. 12, No. 25.

²¹ Compare Ariana Antiqua, Pl. 15, No. 9, etc. One engraved there appears to be copied from the last coins of Phraates IV., having the two Victories.

Mr. Thomas says of this symbol, that "it occurs on Sassanian coins, perhaps altered in its original import by the addition of a crescent touching the top of the disc" (p. 20, note 2). It occurs, however, both as an adjunct and a type on coins of Gondopharus (Prinsep, Historic results, Pl. 5, No. 15, Pl. 8, No. 9), Undopherres, if he is really a distinct sovereign, Abagasus, etc. We have in the legend, connecting St. Thomas with the Indian king Gondopharus, an indication of the approximate date of these princes, which shows the form in which the symbol appears on their coins to be older than that formed on the Sassanian coins, and that the crescent touching the upper part is merely a modification of the two diverging branches arising from the ring on these Indo-Parthian coins. In this form it much resembles a caduceus, and possibly the winged caduceus, forming the type of No. 45, may be a *Græcized* form of this symbol. This, however, I do not assert.

This is quite a novel type on Parthian coins. There can be no doubt, however, that they did worship the sun.

On a Palmyrene bas-relief, figured by Mr. Layard,²² is a full-faced radiated head, not unlike this, borne up by an eagle. Compare also the head on the bas-relief already cited.

27.—Diademed head of Phraates to left, behind which a Victory.

R.—Female holding a palm-branch, and sacrificing on an altar. Æ. 2.

28.—Diademed head of Phraates to left.

R.—Traces of a legend. Two cypress-trees, between which a bunch of grapes. Below, the monogram TA. Æ. 1½.

29.—Diademed head of Phraates to left. Behind, a Victory, and apparently another before.

R.—A male figure, apparently a *Roman*, seated on a curule chair, holding out his right hand. Æ. 2½.

The type of this remarkable coin resembles much the figure found on some coins of Augustus; but it is very improbable that Phraates, although sufficiently alarmed to restore the Roman standards, was so much as to place on his coins the figure of Augustus. The appearance of the coin prevents me from classing it to the period of Venones, who might have placed on his coins the figure of Tiberius, in gratitude for the Roman aid which placed him on the throne; and although the features are indistinct, the long pointed beard and general appearance seem to me to preclude an attribution to Orodes, otherwise I should have at once explained it as the figure of *Labienus*, the Roman general who joined the Parthians against Rome, and called himself *Parthicus Imperator*.

²² Layard, *l.c.*, Tab. i. No. 1, and Tab. vii. 6.

I believe, however, that the coin belongs to Phraates. A more perfect specimen will decide the point, and I hope that the publication of Mr. Lindsay's valuable work will draw from their hiding-place many coins, hitherto unknown or disregarded.

30.—Diademed head, evidently of Phraates, to left, but the features are off the edge. Behind, traces of the usual Victory.

R.—Head of Musa to left, with a head-dress similar to that on the silver coins. Æ. 2½.

Besides those specimens engraved in the plates of Messrs. Lindsay and De Bartholomæi, I have been able to examine a very good example of the rare silver coin of Phraates and Musa, in the cabinet of my friend Mr. Sim, so that I can assert positively the identity of the portraits.

Josephus calls this lady *Thermusa*, or *Thesmusa*, while the coins invariably have *Musa*. Sestini has, indeed, engraved²³ a coin with the name *Thermusa*; but this is

²³ Museo Hedervariano, parte terza, p. 137, Tab. xxxii. 10. This plate contains, indeed, several proofs of the singular manner in which his eyes deceived him, which renders it so difficult to rely upon the later works of this most indefatigable numismatist. No. 13 in the same plate, where Sestini saw the head of Gotarzes, R. BACIAEΩC APTABANOY, and a diademed male head, on which a crescent and pellet, is really a specimen of the coin, No. 15, pl. 10, of Mr. Lindsay, which has a turreted female head, and a legend, so far as I can judge from a cast which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Lindsay, composed partly, at least, of Greek letters giving no sense, precisely as on the large coin, No. 10, pl. 8, L. No. 14 of Sestini has a similar head; R. the same legend, and the type of Diana the huntress. But several specimens of this coin exist in the British Museum, from which I am able to say with confidence, that *no trace* of Sestini's reading, BACIAEΩC APTABANOY, exists, although I cannot say what the legend really is. These coins have all the *trident* beside the head, as has also No. 16 of Sestini, which also exists in the British Museum. Sestini has also utterly misread No. 15, which is of Meredates and Uiphoba, and on which he finds a non-existent queen *Tryphana*.

merely one of the many mistakes and misreadings which were caused by the failure of his sight towards the end of his life. When the Hedervar Museum was brought to Paris, this coin came under the inspection of the late M. Raoul-Rochette, who ascertained that no trace of the syllable *Ther* existed on the coin, and engraved it, along with two other specimens, in the *Journal des Savans*, 1836.

M. Raoul-Rochette, apparently losing sight of the Italian origin of this lady, proceeds, recalling the occurrence of the name *Musa* in the royal family of Bithynia, connected through the Pontic sovereigns with the Achemenians, to find an analogy between the name *Musa*, apparently connected with the Zend *mao*, or Sanscrit *mas*, the moon, and the title of *heavenly goddess*.

Cavedoni²⁴ proposes to admit the name as given by Josephus, *Thermusa*, or *Thesmusa*, since it is difficult to understand how the initial syllable should come to be added, but to suppose that, agreeably to a known Oriental custom, on her admittance into the harem of Phraates, her name was changed from a foreign one to one which recalled the memory of the ancient Persian monarchs, by the connection pointed out by Raoul-Rochette. He considers, then, that her name was originally *Thermusa*, changed or shortened by the Parthians to *Musa*, for the above reason. The case of Esther, whose original name was Hadassah, is quite analogous in principle. Daniel and his companions, also, on entering the royal service, were obliged to receive Chaldee names.

No coins have occurred to me which have any appearance of belonging to Arsaces XVI. or XVII. I am even inclined to doubt the attribution of No. 10, pl. 5, L, the head upon

²⁴ Spicilegio Numismatico, p. 294.

which, so far as I can judge from the engraving, is that of an aged, rather than of a young man. The head-dress of the female head on reverse differs from that of Monsa, but not materially. No doubt, however, attaches to the attribution of the next coin.

ARSACES XVIII.

31.—Diademed head to left. Around, faint traces of a legend (BACIAEYC ONΩ) NH (O).

R.—(BACIAEYC ONΩ) NHC (N) EIKHOAC APTA-BAN (ON). The monogram TA in field. Æ. 2½.

This curious little coin reproduces the legend on the drachms of Vonones, formerly so rare, but which, according to M. de Bartholomæi, are now much more common, from recent discoveries. As, however, in spite of the number discovered, no variation appears in the type or legend, and as the present coin shows that he extended to the copper coinage his ideas, modelled on the Roman coinage, of commemorating by the legends his victories, I am inclined to suppose that he did not issue coins without these legends, and, consequently, that the coin, No. 39, pl. 8, L., does not belong to him. I am confirmed in this view by the face as engraved, which is not like that on the silver coins, and by the appearance of a specimen which I possess, and which is evidently much later. The bearded circle, or square, or oval, first appears on the *certain* coins of Arsaces XXI. I believe the coin I mention, No. 39, pl. 8, L., belong to Vologeses I.; but I can offer no proofs of this attribution further than the general appearance of the coin.

To make up, however, so far as I can, for thus attempting to remove from Vonones the coin which Mr. Lindsay has classed to him, I would propose to consider as an indistinct specimen of my coin that given as No. 43, pl. 8, L., which

has the same type and traces of an obverse legend, a peculiarity of the coins of Vonones, evidently due to his Roman education.

ARSACES XX.

32.—Diademed head to left of Bardanes (?), bearing a strong resemblance to the drachm, No. 66, pl. 3, L.

R.—Female with turreted head, standing between two columns. Æ. 2.

The head on this coin bears a considerable resemblance to the drachm classed by Mr. Lindsay, probably with correctness, to Bardanes. It has no resemblance to any other portrait of the period, and certainly belongs to that monarch who issued the drachm.

ARSACES XXI.

33.—Diademed head of Gotarzes to left, with long beard.

R.—Crescent and star. In field, to right, the monogram so often found on Parthian coins, but without the cross-bar of the A. A wreath surrounds the figures. Æ. 2.

34.—Similar head to left.

R.—Mountain goat to left, kneeling down, precisely in the attitude of that represented in an ornament of the N.W. Palace, Nimrud.²⁵ Æ. 1½.

35.—Similar head to left.

R.—Full-faced radiated head of the sun. Æ. 2¼.

36.—Similar head to left.

R.—Figure to right, terminating in a sort of spreading fan-tail, like the *feruhers* seen on Persian sculptures, holding out before him a long branch. Æ. 1½.

37.—A similar coin, but here the *feruher* is winged. Æ. 2.

²⁵ Layard ii. 296.

These coins resemble somewhat Mr. Lindsay's No. 53, pl. 8; but the figure is differently placed on it, and holds a spear.

Whether these figures represent the tutelary spirit, or *feruher* of the prince, or whether they represent Ormuzd himself, I am not able to decide.²⁶ On the coin No. 58, pl. 8, L., of which I possess several specimens, a similar figure is seen; but on these, instead of the branch of peace (?), the figure, at least on my coins, is helmeted, turned to left, and grasps a spear and shield. I have engraved a specimen, as No. 38.

39.—Similar head to left.

R.—Horseman, with right hand elevated, to right. *Æ*. 2½.

Although the coin is very well preserved, its size does not permit me to distinguish the adjuncts, if any exist, which might decide as to the meaning of the type; that is, whether it is merely a Parthian on horseback, or some divinity. By a singular conventionality, the horseman's legs are both represented on the same side of the horse, as if he were sitting sideways. This may have been merely from carelessness, or it may have been analogous to the utterly impossible way in which the Assyrian horsemen are represented, so as to avoid bringing the bow-string over the countenance. See Layard, *passim*.

40.—Similar head to left.

R.—An utterly unintelligible representation. *Æ*. 3. *Æ*. 1½.

²⁶ M. de Luynes considers the very analogous figure found on coins of the Satrap Tiribazes as Ormuzd, and it is probably the best explanation. *Numismatique des Satrapies*, p. 1 sq., pl. 1, 1, 2, 3. Gesenius (*Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 285, Tab. 37, M.) calls it the *feruher*, but enters into no discussion of the point.

Although I possess several specimens of this coin, very well preserved, I have utterly failed in all attempts to give it a name, and submit the engravings as a puzzle. It is not unlike, at first sight, the head of some animal; but all further attempts to ascertain its nature have proved fruitless.

41.—Similar head.

R.—Two-handled vase. In field, to left, the monogram TA. Æ 2.

ARSACES XXII.

42.—Diademed head of Vonones, with short beard, to left.

R.—Head of a horse to right. Before, an uncertain symbol. Æ. 2.

I have several specimens of this little coin, all of which have the uncertain symbol, a sort of *Koppa*, similar to what is seen on coins of Corinth, but square instead of round.

43.—Similar head.

R.—Horse's head to left. Æ. 1½.

ARSACES XXIII.

44.—Head, probably of Vologeses, to left.

R.—Bird to right, with arched neck. Æ. 1½.

The head is not very distinct, but the type induces me to class it to Vologeses. The fabric, also, appears to place it about this part of the series. Although I mention only such coins as differ from those given by Mr. Lindsay, I possess specimens of a greater part of those in his list, so that I am enabled to judge more securely as to their relative age than I could do from the engravings alone.

ARSACES XXIV.

45.—Diademed head of Artabanus to left.

R.—A winged caduceus. Æ. 1½.

46.—Diademed beardless head of Artabanus to left.

R.—A dotted square, within which a figure holding up one hand, in the other a cornucopia. Æ. 2½. Æ. 1.

Mr. Lindsay engraves a coin very similar, but with a bearded head, under Gotarzes. My coins are certainly not of Gotarzes, but have a profile precisely that of the *bearded* coins of Artabanus, Nos. 67, 69, pl. 9, L. I am inclined to think that the *mallet* is really a badly-formed cornucopia. I do not venture, not having seen the coin, to restore to Artabanus Mr. Lindsay's coin, No. 57, pl. 8; but I confidently assert, that my coins with beardless heads are of him.

47.—Similar *beardless* head to left.

R.—Bird in a dotted square, precisely as on Mr. Lindsay's, No. 65, pl. 9. Æ. 1½. Æ. 2½.

Mr. Lindsay's coin, from the engraving, certainly appears to belong to Vologeses, but mine as unequivocally belongs to Artabanus.

Possessing no new types of the intermediate kings, I pass to Arsaces XXX., reserving for a little the consideration of the Chaldæo-Pehlvi legends, first occurring on the coins of Arsaces XXVII.

ARSACES XXX.

48.—Head of Arsaces XXX. to left, with tiara.

R.—Victory standing to right, holding out in both hands a garland. Æ. 2.

This type calls for no special remark, but is new on the coins of Arsaces XXX.

49.—Similar head to left.

R.—A sea-goat, or Capricorn to left. Instead of the more ordinary termination in a fish, this animal seems, however, to terminate in a serpent, coiled up. The horns mark it distinctly as a goat, but otherwise it resembles much the sea-horse on the coins of Syracuse. I cannot account for such a type.

Lastly, I may describe, as a conclusion to this series of Parthian coins, one certainly of Mesopotamia, and probably struck at Seleucia.

50.—Turreted female head to right.

R.—ΔΚΣ

ΔΙΟΥ

A.—Æ. 2½.

I possess several specimens of this very curious coin, more resembling a medal, although of small size, and only of the baser metal. Mr. Lindsay has already engraved this coin, but his specimen was very imperfect.

For what reason, or to commemorate what event, this little coin was issued at Seleucia (?) on the *first of Dios*, 224 of the *Seleucidan era*, I am unable to conjecture, being unaware of any event whatever connected with that date. I am even inclined to doubt the explanation of ΔΙΟΥ Α, although it is the natural one, from the consideration, how unlikely it is that the mintage of *one day* should have come down to us in such a number as that I should possess eight specimens reasonably well preserved. If, however, the coin was struck *to commemorate* this particular day, the consideration just mentioned loses its force, and the obvious explanation of the legend may be received, at the same time that its object escapes us.

Owing to the evident barbarity of the pseudo-Greek legends on the later Parthian drachms, no one had paid any attention to them, so far as I know, or had noticed the occurrence upon them of characters evidently not belonging to the Greek alphabet. Mr. Lindsay, however (Pl. 4, No. 7), engraved a drachm of Vologeses III., on which, from the comparative legibility of the Greek legend, the unknown characters were brought prominently forward and rendered unmistakeable.

Shortly after receiving, by the kindness of Mr. Lindsay, a copy of his valuable work, I was led to compare the unknown legend with the Chaldæo-Pehlvi alphabet, deciphered by Mr. Thomas in his paper already referred to; and after a little investigation, I ascertained that the legend, the characters of which were by no means so distinctly formed as on the inscription and coins of Mr. Thomas, read *Vologasi malka*, King Vologeses.²⁷ Mr. Sainthill has kindly permitted me to illustrate this article with engravings originally executed for his *Olla Podrida*, vol. ii., which show the legends alone.

The first is the coin engraved as No. 87, pl. 4, of Mr. Lindsay. The Greek legend has been omitted as unnecessary.



²⁷ I communicated my reading, immediately upon completing it, to my friend Mr. Sainthill, who took such an interest in the subject, as to cause engravings to be made of the legends, to illustrate it, and inserted it in the second volume of his very valuable and interesting *Olla Podrida*. To his great kindness I am indebted for the loan of the wood blocks which illustrate the present article. Since beginning this article, I have heard from Paris that M. de Longpérier had, in 1853, printed the decipherments of this and analogous legends on Parthian coins; but I have not as yet had an opportunity of obtaining his work, of whose existence I have only recently heard. Without any desire to claim the priority for my readings (dating from August, 1853), I may, at least, claim for them perfect independence, and point out the confirmation of their correctness derived from this coincidence. M. de Longpérier has had access to more varied legends than are to be found on the coins I have been able to consult, as, according to the note I have received, he has read at least three names, besides *Vologeses*, while I have seen only *Vologeses*, and another, of whose reading I am uncertain.

On this coin the last letter of the legend is off the edge, for which reason a second specimen, of the same monarch, which has the end perfect, is here given. This coin is in Mr. Lindsay's cabinet, but was not engraved by him.



The third is the drachm (No. 93, pl. 4) of Mr. Lindsay, the Greek legend and type being omitted, as in the preceding.



From the kindness of Messrs. Lindsay and Sainthill, I have received numerous impressions of similar coins. One only of these needs to be more particularly noticed, the legend of which I have copied separately on plate iii. as A.

The legend may be given as **וֹלֹגָשִׁי מַלְכָּא**, or in Roman characters, VoLoGaSi MaLKA. The ו, V, is certain, and coincides in form with the character in the Haji-abad inscription. On the sub-Parthian coins deciphered by Mr. Thomas, and on others, it begins to be straightened in the lower part, assuming the form of a hook; and in the Palmyrene and Sassanian inscriptions, the foot is bent back, so that it resembles our figure 2.

In the Haji-abad inscription, and on the coin of Vologeses III., deciphered by Mr. Thomas, the **ל**, L, is curved, and has a small line proceeding from its centre. It is, in fact, simply the **ר**, R, of the same inscription, with its up-

right line continued upwards. The same comparison may be made in the Bactrian alphabet, which is certainly of Semitic origin.²⁸ In the Bactrian alphabet the 𐬨 is similar in form to the Hagi-abad 𐬨, L, but is straight, instead of being curved.

On the present coins the L has lost its distinguishing marks, and is only distinguished from other letters by its superior height.

The 𐬨, G, was first identified by Mr. Thomas, as Major Rawlinson had blended into one the two letters G and I, though correctly explaining the word BaGa or BaGI, which led to this identification.²⁹

²⁸ It would appear more natural to consider the R as a truncated L; but it is well ascertained that the L was a sound unknown to, or not distinguished from R, by the ancient Persians, and only very imperfectly known, even in the Sassanian period.

²⁹ Thomas, l. c., p. 9. Rawlinson's Memoir on the Persian Cuneiform Inscription, p. 94, note 2.

Mordtmann, who finds the letters joined upon the coins, as is natural from their smaller size, appears not to assent to Mr. Thomas's reading of BaGI from the inscriptions, as he continues to read BaG. See, for instance, his reading of the beautiful gold coin of Hormuzd II. (p. 37, Tab. vi. 5), which he reads BaG (i) RVSchAN 𐬨𐬭𐬭𐬭𐬭. In spite of his denial, a comparison of his own impression, and Mr. Thomas's engraving (Num. Chron. vol. xv., p. 180, No. 8), establishes the correctness of the latter. The coin seems in consequence to read

𐬨𐬭𐬭𐬭𐬭 𐬨𐬭𐬭𐬭𐬭

Auhrmazdi libagi ruschan.

(of) Ormuzd, of the god of light, etc.

Although the reverse seems to bear out Mr. Thomas's reading, in having 𐬨 for 𐬨, the obverse is more favourable to Mordtmann's explanation, which has the advantage of being comprehensible. Mordtmann classes this gold coin, as well as the copper coins published along with it by Mr. Thomas, to Hormuzd I. It is impossible, however, to assent to this classification. An examination of his own plate of impressions shows clearly that the gold coin is out of its place under Hormuzd I., and agrees better

On the coin whose legend I have given separately, pl. 3, A, the G is unequivocal in form, being, indeed, identical with the Estranghelo G, the lower limb being quite horizontal. When it is placed as it is on the rest, it is rather ambiguous, and might be confounded with R; and I believe that the difference of position of the G in the words, as read by Mr. Thomas on his coin No. 1, *Vologesi* and *Agsak*, is sufficient to induce us to consider as really R the letter in the latter word, thus reading *Arsak*, or *Arschak*, for *Agsak*. A cylinder in the British Museum has the name written Arshaka;³⁰ and the Greeks, I need not say, always wrote Arsaces.

The Persians always wrote it *Ashak*, اشك; and it would seem that the pronunciation of R before S or Sch, has always been difficult to them, as this pronunciation is of considerable antiquity.³¹

The *ʒ*, S or Sh, is identical in form with that found in

with the neighbouring coins, when placed to Hormuzd II. The brass coins, also, which are inseparable from it, are small, carelessly struck, and of a delicate and minute fabric, which entirely precludes the possibility of placing them in the series, next to the large and boldly executed copper of Shapur. I accept, then, with a slight modification, the reading of Mordtmann, but dissent from his classification.

Mordtmann, Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlvi-legenden, forming part i. of the eighth volume of the Journal of the German Oriental Society. Leipzig, 1854.

³⁰ Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 607.

³¹ The town of Asaac, Ἀσαάκ, was built by Arsaces, the first king, and has evidently taken its name from him (Isidori Charac, *Stathmi Parthici*, p. 7, *Geogr. Græc. min.* ii., ed. Hudson). S.M. It is evident that the words of Isidore, *πρώτος βασιλεὺς*, point to Arsaces II. (Tiridates); but M. Saint-Martin says, "fondateur de la monarchie," as if he understood Arsaces I., who could hardly have had much time for building.

the inscription already mentioned,³² as well as on the coin, No. 1, of Mr. Thomas. It occurs, also, in Palmyrenian inscriptions, and is evidently the one from which the square Hebrew or Chaldee letter is derived. The 'i, which in the Sassanian character is a curve, is in the Chaldæo-Pehlvi text quite or nearly straight, and distinguishable from the 'i, z, only by its smaller size.

The word מלכא, *malca*, needs no comparisons to prove its reading. I may mention, however, that the כ, k, approaches more nearly the Aramean type than that of the Chaldæo-Pehlvi alphabet. The מ is identical in both; and we may see on these coins the progress from Phœnician to the Estranghelo מ, the transverse stroke by degrees approaching the angle of the letter. Compare No. 90, pl. 4, L.

Another legend exists upon these late drachms; but although I have been able to compare a number of specimens, I have failed to decipher it in a satisfactory manner. It is that found on the coins Nos. 89, 90, 95, pl. 4, of Mr. Lindsay's work, the first letter of which, however, is imperfect on all.³³

³² Mr. Westergaard has recently published correct copies of both texts of this inscription, at the end of his *Bundelesh*, Copenhagen, 1851.

³³ As I have every reason to suppose that M. de Longpérier has already deciphered this legend (see note 27), and only publish the reading of the legend with the name of Vologeses, in pursuance of my pledge to Mr. Sainthill to continue the subject, I do not think it necessary to reproduce the legend in question.

The doubtful name is composed of five letters, before the M of the word *Malka*. The first of these, imperfectly given on the coins in Mr. Lindsay's plates, is *precisely* a reversed N on the other coins of which I possess impressions. The rest of the legend is correctly represented. Too many ambiguous letters occur in this short legend to enable me to satisfy myself as to its import.

The first occurrence of these letters is on a coin to be found engraved, No. 74, pl. 4, of Mr. Lindsay's work. M. de Bartholomæi and Mr. Lindsay have classed it to Arsaces XXII. (Vonones II). It must be allowed, however, that the portrait has but little resemblance to that on the certain tetra-drachms of Vonones, published nearly at the same time by Mr. Lindsay (Pl. 6, No. 19,) and the Marquis de Lagoy.³⁴

It is evident, that the two letters which compose this short legend behind the head of the monarch are identical with the two first letters of the name read by M. de Longpérier and by myself as Vologeses on the later drachms. It is natural, then, to look upon them as the initials of the town *Vologesias*, or *Vologesiocerta*, city of *Vologeses*, not far from Seleucia.

On the coin No. 96 in Mr. Lindsay's collection, the same letters occur on obverse; but here the $\hookrightarrow$, L, has assumed

³⁴ Revue Numismatique, 1853, p. 202.

SYMBOLS ON PLATE III.

- a. From a drachm in Mr. Lindsay's plates. Pl. 3, No 53.
- b. From a drachm of the uncertain class given by Mr. L. to Phraates IV., or his rival Tiridates, in my possession.
- c. From another specimen, also obtained by me since the commencement of these observations. On both these coins the *wart*, said by Visconti to be characteristic of Phraates IV., is very evident, and one has unequivocally his portrait.
- d. Layard, Nineveh and Babylon, p. 211.
- e. Lindsay, Pl. 7, No. 10.
- f. Lindsay, Pl. 3, No. 54.
- g. Layard, vol. ii., p. 446.
- h. From a coin of Rhescuporis VIII, of the Bosphorus, in my possession. Koehler (Gesammelte Werke, i. 28, note 17) has already protested against Mionnet's calling this a monogram, although he could offer no explanation of it.

precisely the Palmyrenian form, almost identical with the modern Hebrew. This serves to confirm the reading as L of the letter on the other coins, if any confirmation be needed.

But it is evident that if we find this coin struck at Vologesias, it cannot belong to the reign of Vonones, who preceded Vologeses. I have already pointed out the want of resemblance to the tetra-drachms; and taking Mr. Lindsay's plates as the only guide at my command, I find a much greater resemblance to the tetra-drachm of Artabanus IV., for instance, No. 21, pl. 6, L. Mr. Lindsay has remarked, that there is almost always a difference in the length of the beards on the drachms and on the tetra-drachms. I may, however, be easily misled in such a comparison, not being able to consult the coins themselves; and it may easily belong to Vologeses I. Indeed, it is very difficult to distinguish, in a satisfactory manner, the coins of that period.

It may be objected, that the coin has on reverse the monogram TA, which Mr. Lindsay has explained *Tambrax*, justified, to a certain extent, by the early coins, which have TAM or TAMB on obverse. If, however, this monogram ever denoted *Tambrax*, of which I am by no means certain, it does not follow that it did so when these coins were issued. The letters VoL occur on the coins of Arsaces XXX., which have the legend *King Vologeses* on reverse, and which have, also, the monogram TA. But as Vologeses and Artabanus reigned together over the Parthian empire, and as it is very improbable that *Tambrax* in Parthia, and Vologesias, near Seleucia, could have been united under one sovereign, we are enabled to decide over which part of the empire Vologeses ruled, by applying to history.

An application to history in the ordinary mode, indeed;

produces no very satisfactory result ; but by combining the fact generally received on the authority of Agathias, that Ardeschir finally defeated Artabanus in the year 226, A.D., 538 of the Seleucidan era, with the tetra-drachm of Vologeses, bearing the date 539, 227, A.D., we arrive at the result that Vologeses must have reigned over the western provinces of the Parthian empire, since he survived for some time his brother, who was first attacked by Ardeschir, and thus evidently must have reigned over the eastern provinces.

It is evident, if my reasoning does not deceive me, that the monogram TA cannot mean *Tambrax* on the coins of Arsaces XXX., and that the obverse letters alone denote the mint. Inferentially, we may extend this to the coins on which occurs the same combination, of Chaldæo-Pehlvi letters on obverse and the monogram on reverse ; and thus I conclude that it cannot at that period, at any rate, have denoted *Tambrax*.

I am inclined to conjecture, but with hesitation, from the second T which appears to exist in the earlier forms of the monogram, that it reads AT, and denotes the province *Aturia*, or *Assyria*, the name of the province being put for that of the capital, as is very common on Cufic coins. Indeed, Mordtmann has already read, as it appears correctly, the name *Aturia*, both abbreviated and at full length, on various, and, as he says, very numerous, Sassanian coins (*Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, viii., p. 11, and Pl. 4, No. 1), ranging from Shapur III. to Bahram V. The coins are, I suppose, struck in Arbela, more probably than in Ctesiphon.

Although, as already stated, the earlier forms of the monogram appear to show a second T, depending from the cross-bar of the A, it occurs to me as not impossible that it

may really represent the letter Y, which on coins of the somewhat careless fabric which is seen on the reverses of most Parthian coins, might easily come to resemble a T. This would give *ΑΤΥ(ρ)ια* as the reading of the monogram.

A somewhat similar name appears on the little coin of Atusia, given by Weston and Millingen, reading *ΑΤΟΥΣΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΙΠΟΣΤΩΝ ΚΑΙΠΩΝ*, *the Atusians, or Aturians, or Assyrians, residing on the river Capros*. The turreted head resembles that seen on the curious little coin which I have classed to Seleucia, No. 50; and as far as I can judge from the engraving, the coins must be nearly of the same period.

I was at first inclined to conjecture, that the problematic ΓΟΡ on some early coins might denote the province *Gorduene* of Armenia. The discovery, however, on the tetradrachm of Mithridates I. (No. 1, pl. 5, L.), that this word was accompanied by the *name in full* of the province Aturia, caused me to abandon this. In fact, the monogram which Mr. Lindsay reads ΦΙΑΤΑ, for which he proposes no explanation, is more simply and easily read ΑΤΥΡΙΑ, and this reading agrees well with the certainty that these coins were struck after his conquest of Babylon and Assyria.

The monogram ΔΡ on a coin of Arsaces IV. certainly cannot mean *Drangiana*, which was not possessed by the Parthians at that time at any rate. I should rather conjecture it to point out *Dara*, or *Dareium*, in Parthia.

The monogram ΧΑΡ on the coin of Mithridates, No. 21, pl. 1, L., can hardly denote Charax, as Saint-Martin shows that in the reign of Phraates II., after 136 B.C., it must still have been under the Grecian power, and that it was not yet governed by its own kings in the year 130 B.C., while we know that it received the name *Spasini-Charax* from the first of these kings, having previously been called first

Alexandria, then Antiochia. It was not to this Charax, but to a town situated near the Pylæ Caspiæ, that the Mardi were transported by Phraates I.

It is not impossible that this monogram may rather point out the city of Harran (Carrhæ) in Mesopotamia, as it appears that Mithridates had conquered that province.

Other monograms occurring on Parthian coins are more difficult of explanation. M. de Bartholomæi has explained the monograms which occur on one coin, No. 46, pl. 2, L., as APamea RaPHaneia, and there can be little doubt that this is correct.

Mr. Lindsay reads a common monogram as MOTene, and nothing can be objected to this, although I should hardly have supposed Motene of sufficient importance to issue so many coins.

The monogram of TIGRanocerta, No. 3, pl. 11, L., is perfectly satisfactory.

It appears to me that No. 2, same plate, which Mr. Lindsay considers as pointing out *Laodicea*, is not a monogram, but a *view from above of a diadem*. Of this I cannot be certain, as a stroke given in plate 11 is wanting in No. 56, pl. 3, L.; but in either case, I cannot read in it *Laodicea*.

I now conclude this long paper, hoping I have not altogether exhausted the patience of my readers. It is to be hoped that the work of Mr. Lindsay will excite an interest in this neglected series, and cause the appearance of new coins, which may assist in clearing up many points still remaining doubtful. If this object is furthered in the least by these pages I am satisfied, and leave this to the decision of numismatists qualified to judge.

WILLIAM H. SCOTT.

Edinburgh, *July*, 1854.

XXII.

ANCIENT COINS IN THE MUSEUM OF BERLIN.

61, Pall Mall,
30th Nov., 1854.

DEAR SIR,

THE accompanying paper is a translation of the introductory part of M. Pinder's account of the ancient coins in the Museum of Berlin,¹ and contains a brief history of the formation and growth of the Royal collection, with a general summary of its contents. Of the value and importance of that collection, or of the qualifications of the learned writer by whom it is described, it is unnecessary for me to speak. M. Pinder's work comprises, besides this prefatory portion, a catalogue of 1105 of the most interesting specimens of the Greek and Roman series, followed by a tabular enumeration of all the ancient coins in their respective classes, similarly arranged to that in M. Arneth's Synopsis of the Greek coins in the Imperial collection at Vienna. The present translation was originally made by a lady, and has been revised by me. Should you deem it of sufficient general interest for publication in your journal, I have much pleasure in being enabled to place it at your service.

Believe me, dear Sir, very truly yours,

EDMUND OLDFIELD.

To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.

¹ *Die Antiken Münzen des Königlichen Museums. Geschichte und Uebersicht der Sammlung, nebst erklärender Beschreibung einer Auswahl von Münzen, von M. Pinder. Berlin, 1851.*

THE collection of ancient coins belonging to the House of Brandenburg, which towards the end of the seventeenth century was considered one of the most important then in existence, had doubtless owed its original formation to the earlier Electors. Joachim II. (1535—1571), who rebuilt the castle of Cologne-on-the-Spree, and maintained there a brilliant court, was a friend to the arts and sciences; and the establishment of a collection of antiquities and coins has been attributed to him. Of what importance this collection may have been, to what extent it may subsequently have been enlarged, and how it was preserved during the ravages of the Thirty Years' War, we are indeed not informed; but immediately after the Peace of Westphalia, and as early as the year 1649, we find in the possession of the Great Elector (Frederick William) a collection of antiquities, of which the ancient coins formed the principal constituent. A manuscript catalogue of this collection, with explanatory notes of considerable learning, bears the title of "*Serenissimi Principis Friderici Wilhelmi Marchionis Brandenburgici, Sacri Romani Imperii Electoris, etc., Numismata antiqua Graeca et Romana, aurea argentea et aerea, aliaque venerandae antiquitatis monumenta, sequentibus indicibus comprehensa. Anno MDCXLVIII.*" It mentions 4,968 ancient coins, of which 137 are of gold, 3,056 of silver, and 1,775 of copper. Adding to these 48 copies and fabrications of modern times, which in the description are carefully distinguished, the total number amounts to 5,008. The Roman coins are here, as usual, the most abundant; the number of the Greek, after deduction of the barbarous and of the uncertain, is limited to 6 of gold, 104 of silver, and 31 of copper.

This was a very moderate beginning; but the zeal of the

Great Elector, the founder of the library and of the collections attached to it, soon brought greater importance to the cabinet of ancient coins. The celebrated scholar and statesman Ezekiel Spanheim, who published in 1664 his work upon the "Value and Use of Ancient Coins", names the Great Elector in the first rank of those German princes who were competing with France, Italy, and the Imperial House, in the augmentation of their numismatic treasures. Spanheim subsequently dedicated the third edition of his work to the youthful grandson of this Prince (afterwards King, under the title of Frederick William I.), in whom he wished to awaken a similar taste; and in the dedication he relates how highly the Great Elector valued ancient coins as among the most beautiful and instructive monuments of classical antiquity, how frequently and with what interest he occupied himself with the study of them, the intelligent judgments which he formed on the subject, and the zeal with which he sought out and acquired valuable specimens.

The frequent discovery of Roman coins in the territory of Cleves, where the Great Elector was fond of residing, constantly fed and increased his zeal for collecting. Two distinguished scholars of Cleves, Hermann Ewich, the well-known historian of Wesel, and after him (subsequently to the year 1663) Christian von Heimbach, Librarian and Antiquary to the Elector, arranged and described the collection of ancient coins. The catalogues from the hand of Heimbach, which are still in existence, and in which he mentions the classic soil of Zante as the place of discovery of a part of these treasures, were completed between 1670 and 1672, and occupy several folio volumes. The cabinet of coins formed one of the principal departments of the Chamber of Art and Virtù. The deed of appointment for the succeeding curator of this collection, Christian Albert

Kunckel, which is dated from Lehnin, April 25th, 1685, entrusts to his care "the gold, silver, and copper Roman and Greek ancient coins and medals."

The numismatic treasures thus gradually collected were before long destined to be all at once doubled by a propitious circumstance.

A zeal similar to that which had been seen at Cologne-on-the-Spree had founded, in the seventeenth century, a cabinet of ancient coins at Heidelberg, the institution of which is of the highest importance in the history of the collection of the Electoral House of Brandenburg, in which it was destined subsequently to merge. A cousin of the Great Elector, the Elector Charles Lewis of the Palatinate, distinguished as much for his scientific attainments as by the events of his domestic life, had already considerably enlarged a collection of ancient coins inherited from his art-loving ancestors, when he commissioned one of the greatest numismatists of his time, the before-mentioned Ezekiel Spanheim, to purchase in Italy everything of any value which was required to render this collection perfect and complete. Spanheim proceeded to Mantua, Parma, Modena, Florence, Rome, Naples, Sicily, and Malta; and after an absence of many years, returned to Heidelberg in 1665. As early as the year 1663 the Parisian numismatist Charles Patin extols the Heidelberg collection in his work upon Roman Family coins. But after the death of Charles Lewis in the year 1680, and under the reign of his son Charles, the pupil of Spanheim, this collection became still more celebrated through means of a learned and splendid work which Lorenzo Beger, Librarian and Antiquary to the Elector Palatine, published under the title "*Thesaurus ex thesauro Palatino selectus*," in a folio volume richly embellished with plates. It appeared at Heidelberg in the year 1685.

When in the same year the male line of the Electors Palatine-in-Simmern became extinct by the death of the Elector Charles, the House of Brandenburg, as related to that line, put forth claims to the inheritance. It was not without regard to the peculiar tastes of the great Elector of Brandenburg, that the celebrated Palatine collection of coins was bequeathed among other things to him. The will was contested; but while other precious articles, such as the gems, were conveyed to Paris as part of the heritage of Elizabeth Charlotte Duchess of Orleans, "on the other hand," as John Frederick Reiger, a writer of that epoch, expresses himself, "all the Electoral medals, gold, silver, and copper, exceeding in number 12,000 pieces and highly valued, were given in compensation to the Elector of Brandenburg, on account of the claim made by him through Her Highness his mother (who was daughter of Frederick IV., Elector Palatine), and also on other grounds."² In this number, of which, according to Patin's account, at least 1000 gold pieces formed part, more modern coins were also included. In the year 1686 Lorenzo Beger delivered the precious collection to the Great Elector, then residing at Cleves, and soon after passed into his service. This Palatine cabinet contained several of the most important pieces, which even now adorn the Royal collection. A series of Greek regal coins was particularly remarkable among them. In this were unique specimens, such as the third part of a stater of Tarentum (No. 48 of the following description); extremely rare examples, such as two gold coins of Rhodes (Nos. 354 and 355); *chefs d'œuvre*, such as both the silver coins of Naxos (Nos. 137 and 138); and other instructive

² "The Extinct Genealogical Lines of the Electors Palatine-in-Simmern," s. l. 1693, p. 139.

pieces, such as the tetradrachm of Selinus (No. 154); also the coins of Heraclea, Eretria, and Magnesia, marked with the stamped eagle of the Este collection (Nos. 57, 307, 340), of which the first may pass for an unapproachable model of the art of coinage; and lastly, among the series of imperial coins, the gold medallion of Constantius Chlorus (No. 1006); not to mention many other splendid specimens.

While the numismatic treasures of the Great Elector were thus being doubled, the Hereditary Prince (afterwards the Elector Frederick III., and later still, King Frederick I.), was already displaying the most energetic zeal in the collection of ancient coins. In the year 1687 Gregorio Leti informs us, in his History of the House of Brandenburg (vol. i. p. 336)—“ *Il Serenissimo Principe Elettorale tiene un nobilissimo Gabinetto, ripieno di medaglie d'antichità stimatissime per la loro rarità, e in abbondanza, con diverse altre nobili curiosità.*”³

This Prince, in whose praise it has been justly said that “he placed the crown not merely on his own head, but on all the works of his father,” raised by his extensive and judicious purchases the collection of ancient coins to a truly royal rank. The coins and antiquities were specially entrusted to Lorenzo Beger, who succeeded Christopher Ungelter (from 1688 to 1693) as Librarian and Chief Chamberlain of the Arts; and he was at the same time commissioned to expend all requisite means on the enrichment of these collections. At his side was the illustrious Spanheim, with his experienced counsels, who being now returned from Paris, where he had filled the post of Envoy from the Elec-

³ “ *His Serene Highness the Electoral Prince possesses a most noble cabinet, replete with ancient medals of the highest estimation for their rarity, and that in great abundance, with divers other splendid curiosities.*”

torate of Brandenburg, spent a succession of years in Berlin. The munificence of the monarch enabled Beger to publish the collection, which had rapidly increased in his hands, in a splendid work, consisting of three folio volumes, full of engravings, and entitled the "*Thesaurus Brandenburgicus*," between the years 1696 and 1701. The massive third volume contains the pieces bought since the commencement of the work, and it is astonishing what treasures were acquired in so short a time. "*Quanta tantillo tempore gazæ!*" is inscribed over one of the numerous plates which adorn this volume. These plates were engraved partly by the ingenious artist Samuel Blesendorff, and partly by John Charles Schott, son of Beger's sister, who under his uncle's tuition was educated into a learned antiquary, and subsequently (in 1705) became his successor.

Notwithstanding the expensive outlay which the publication of this "*Thesaurus*" demanded, there is one defect to be regretted in it, which has its foundation in the taste of that period. As the representations of the coins are formed into regular circles, and their types often enlarged or diminished, the scientific value of the commentary, instructive as it is, is impaired by the false garb under which the coins are introduced. Throughout three folio volumes the learned author, under the name of Dulodorus, maintains with one Archæophilus, a zealous disciple, a dialogue in Latin, which does not from the writer's description of the scene, with the rising and setting of the sun, gain much in vivacity or grace.

The arrangement of the collection of coins was on a scale suitable to its value. In a splendid apartment of the palace stood four sumptuous cabinets, lackered in the Chinese style by Dagly, the Keeper of the Electoral ornaments, and afterwards the Director of the Royal gallery of

paintings. These cabinets contained the coins, classified according to their metals, and also the gems. The contents of each cabinet were distinguished by a divinity, which was placed upon it: Apollo, Diana, Venus, and Serapis represented gold, silver, copper, and gems. The room in which these treasures were preserved, and which may be seen delineated in the first volume of Beger's "*Thesaurus*," published in the year 1696, was connected by a sufficiently safe communication with the apartments inhabited by the Elector Frederick III. It lay in the projecting portion built by the Count Lynar for John George and Joachim Frederick, at the extremity of the (so-called) Joachim's wing, towards the pleasure-garden, and is now, since the enlargements effected by Schluter, the second of the state rooms which lead from the Rittersaal to the Hof-Apotheke. From the time of commencing this building the cabinet of coins was preserved in a room of the fourth story, probably that situated nearest the winding staircase; the room may be seen in an engraving of the time, with the superscription, "*Novis antiqua coronat*," and with the royal eagle and initials. After the Rittersaal was completed, in the year 1702, the collection of coins and antiquities obtained three rooms of the fourth story, between the portal No. 5 and the chapel belonging to the palace, where it afterwards permanently remained.

During the reign of King Frederick William I., when Maturin Veyssière la Croze (1717—1739) presided over the collection, the number of ancient coins does not appear to have been increased. But it is only the collection of later coins that we know for certain to have suffered diminution, owing to a considerable number of old gold pieces having been melted down and recoined, in order to augment the wealth of the country in actual

currency. The loss of some of the coins engraved in the "Thesaurus Brandenburgicus" (as, for instance, a gold medalion of Constantius II.) is due to another cause. The great robberies in the palace, discovered in the year 1718, which had been committed by the Castellan Valentine Runck and the Court-Marshall Daniel Stieff, extended also to the cabinet of coins, out of which 134 pieces were found missing. One of these, a gold drachm of the Ætolians, which was offered by a goldsmith for repurchase to the Superintendent of the cabinet of coins, La Croze, and which is still to be seen, helped to discover the perpetrators of the deed, who were accordingly executed. La Croze, in order to convict them, had proved, in a carefully written argument, that the gold coin presented to him for purchase corresponded exactly with Beger's representation of the previously existing specimen, and that it must therefore of necessity be the same, upon the principle that there are no two ancient coins with the same identical stamp. The conclusion intended to be established was correct, but the premises were false. This erroneous principle, however, which is contrary to all probability, was looked upon as incontestible until quite modern times. As in antiquity the dies were separately engraved, and not, as with us, multiplied by mechanical means; and as also the method of striking then in use caused them to be worn much more rapidly than now; it is but natural, that out of the originally limited number of coins from the same die only a few should have descended, not merely to our times, but also into the hands of the same collector, who must likewise have paid attention to this peculiarity. Yet there are to be found in the Royal collection about forty indubitable instances of reproductions from the same ancient die.

The first ten years of the reign of Frederick II. were too much disturbed for that great King to find much leisure for

the collection of numismatic treasures, though he was far from wanting in taste or information. A hoard of coins discovered in the first months of his reign, towards the end of the year 1740, at Preussisch-Görlitz in the Bailiwick of Osterode, consisting of 1134 Roman *denarii* from the time of Nero to that of Septimius Severus, was sent to Frederick at his special request for his own examination; and must in great part have been incorporated in the Royal collection. This collection was in the times of the wars twice hastily packed up, in 1745 and 1757; it was transported in safety, the first time to Stettin, and the second to Magdeburg, where it remained until the conclusion of the Seven Years' War. Frederick the Great seized an opportunity which offered itself for acquiring an entire private collection of Greek and Roman coins, then of some celebrity, which Caspar von Pfau, Privy Councillor of Würtemberg, had left at his death. A printed catalogue of it, containing 588 pages, had appeared at Stuttgart in the year 1745, after the owner's death; the descriptions in which, drawn up by his own hand, bear the dates 1724 and 1741. A book of engravings commenced by him, of which twenty-four quarto plates are to be found in the Royal collection of antiquities, was neither completed nor published; but many valuable pieces from the Pfau cabinet are to be found figured in John James Gessner's Numismatic Works.

In consequence of its repeated packings and removals, the Royal collection of coins was found to be in some disorder in 1765, at the period of the demise of the Superintendent Jacques Gaultier de la Croze, successor of the elder la Croze. The king had destined the great Winckelmann to fill the vacant situation, but it is well known that the negotiations with him did not arrive at the desired

result, and Frederick William Stosch was appointed to the office.

After the construction of the Temple of Antiquities near the new palace at Potsdam, Frederick the Great caused the collection of ancient coins, which he wished to have in his vicinity, to be transported thither in the year 1776, and arranged beside the gems, in four splendid cabinets of cedar, which were placed in an apartment communicating with the temple. The collection also remained there during the reign of Frederick William II. Under him, the cabinet of Art and of Medals acquired, at the end of the year 1794, a new superintendent in the person of the Librarian, John Henry, who forthwith zealously directed his attention to its enlargement; and especially to effect the union of the separate collections. In the year 1797, moreover, King Frederick William II. ordered the cabinet of coins, which anciently belonged to the margraviate of Brandenburg, and had been fixed in the Court-Residency of Anspach, to be united with the Royal treasures at Berlin.

This Franconian collection had been originally formed in the year 1738, by the then reigning Margrave Charles William Frederick, out of some earlier possessions of his family, with the intention of regularly increasing it; and had remained since the year 1764 under the inspection of that able numismatist, John James Spies. As late as the year 1795, John Louis Wetzel, Privy Councillor and Librarian at Anspach, had carefully arranged and described the department of ancient coins. It contained 3990 Greek and Roman coins, 115 of gold, 2083 of silver, and 1792 of copper; among them some most remarkable specimens, such as the two gold tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, (Nos. 228 and 229 of our description), and the gold medallion

of the emperor Valens (No. 1046), which is nearly a quarter of a pound in weight.

Under King Frederick William III. the earlier collection of coins, preserved in the Temple of Antiquities at Potsdam, was, in virtue of an order of the Cabinet dated August 9, 1798, brought back to Berlin and placed in the Chamber of Art. It consisted of 9260 ancient coins, namely, 504 of gold, 4004 of silver, 4752 of copper. Among these were scarcely more than 1000 Greek coins. The discoveries which were constantly made increased for the most part the number of Roman coins alone. The excavations made by H. M. Redenbacher (Councillor of the Consistory of the Counts of Pappenheim), near the Roman wall, particularly at Knodsheim and at the Weilberg in the Principality of Anspach, brought to light a series of Roman Imperial coins, from Augustus to Theodosius the Great, of which 101 pieces were at once added to the Royal collection. Out of a considerable quantity of gold coins of the earlier Byzantine emperors, which were discovered in the village of Grossendorf on the peninsula of Hela, in the years 1800 and 1801, unfortunately only four were placed in the Royal collection, while the others were melted down. The collection of Von Reischwitz of Warsaw, Councillor in the Departments of War and the Domains, which was obtained in the year 1802, contained 359 coins, for the most part Roman.

By similar acquisitions the number of duplicate and superfluous coins in the Royal collection became considerably increased. On this ground more than 6000 pieces were, at the suggestion of the Privy Councillor Erman, taken therefrom in the year 1802, and presented to the French, the Friedrichswerder, and the Friedrich-Wilhelms, Gymnasia.

The active Superintendent of the collection now directed his efforts, not without reason, principally to the acquisition of Greek coins ; and to this end he entered into communication with Cousinery, and also with Von Knobelsdorff, the Prussian Ambassador in Constantinople, through whose intervention he made overtures for the collection of Petricioli. Knobelsdorff soon afterwards returned to Berlin. His private collection of Greek coins, which had been commenced under the most favourable circumstances at Constantinople, rivalled that of the King. The Abbate Domenico Sestini, so celebrated as a numismatist, who at that time resided in Berlin, described in the Sixth part of his "*Lettere e Dissertazioni Numismatiche*" of the year 1804, the most remarkable pieces of this distinguished private collection, and in the following year he illustrated in a similar manner, in the Eighth part of the same letters, the Greek coins in the Royal cabinet. Whilst there drawing attention to the deficiencies of that cabinet, which might be supplied by the acquisition of Von Knobelsdorff's coins, he on the other hand increased the celebrity and the scientific importance of the Royal collection by the illustration of some of its most remarkable pieces. Unfortunately, however, his descriptions, when compared with the specimens themselves, proved by no means trustworthy. The advantage of a great experience, which he had acquired from his acquaintance with most of the collections in Europe and in the East, is almost counterbalanced by his incredible carelessness in the interpretation and restoration of types and legends.

Sestini was appointed Assistant at the Royal collection on the 7th September, 1806. Impelled, however, by his love for travelling, the learned antiquary speedily resigned his office, and journeyed first into France, then into Italy ; but he nevertheless determined to publish in Berlin, where he

had so usefully laboured, a century after Beger, for the revival of numismatic learning, a comprehensive work on coins, surpassing Eckhel's "Doctrina;" and a highly promising Prospectus of this was brought out in September, 1809, by the Berlin publisher Louis Quien.

The Greek coins which Sestini counted in the Royal collection in the year 1805 amounted to 1984, consisting of 59 in gold, 676 in silver, and 1249 in copper. The number of the Family coins was at that time 1300, that of the Imperial coins 9800, among which were 500 in gold; they are thus declared in the "General Catalogue of the Royal Museum of Art, Natural History, and Antiquities," which Henry caused to be printed in the year 1805.

At this epoch, shortly before a great catastrophe, much care was bestowed upon the superintendence of the treasures of art at Berlin, for not only were they zealously increased in number, but they were also arranged in order and offered to the general enjoyment of the public. Indeed, the idea of founding a comprehensive museum was even then entertained. On the 13th of September, 1806, a collection of coins which had been purchased, with the consent of the king, of the well-known Cousinery, was conveyed to Berlin by the Prussian Ambassador, the Marquis Lucchesini, then returning from his post. After the battle of Jena Henry received orders to pack up without delay the cabinet of coins. On the 18th of October the valuable consignment was despatched to Stettin, and reached Memel by way of Dantzic and Königsberg. The loss of a small case between Neustadt and Dantzic did not affect the ancient coins. But the whole collection had not been rescued from Berlin; what remained behind, and indeed all the Roman brass coins, to the number of 6773, were plundered by Denon; of the Roman gold coins only two, and of the silver only

three, fell into his hands. Among the more modern coins which were then plundered, were sixty-eight of the imitations of ancient coins known as Paduan. Only a small part of these coins, which had not yet been incorporated with the Parisian collection, was brought back in the year 1814; but a far more considerable quantity was restored in the year following. The splendid large brass coins, however, were not to be recovered; the number of the missing was estimated at 2000.

Upon the advent of peace the zeal for new acquisitions was redoubled. Henry again entered into communication with ambassadors and consuls in the East, and even made proposals for excavations in Egypt. He also completed a catalogue of the collection. As a model for this the Privy Councillor Uhden had prepared an account of a small, but to the amateur particularly inviting portion, namely, the gold Imperial coins, which, being exempt from all oxidation, are in general as legible as they are attractive to the eye. Henry completed the arrangement and description of all the ancient coins in the year 1818. After setting aside the duplicates, all the pieces enumerated in his catalogue were 13,147 in number, comprising 2,424 Greek, 1,275 Family coins, and 9,448 Imperial.

At the close of the same year 1818, Prince Biron of Curland's collection of ancient coins was obtained at the price of 2,785 dollars. It contained 226 Greek coins; 190 of the Roman Republic; and of Imperial coins 75 in gold, 863 in silver, and 1,382 in brass; making in all 2,736 pieces, to which more were subsequently added. In the succeeding years the Royal collection received, by repeated donations from the King's chamberlain Count von Sack, several valuable coins procured in his travels, belonging to Athens, Ægina, the Ptolemaic series, and others, among which is

included the remarkable coin of a satrap, from Tarsus, described under No. 369. The purchase of the great Adler collection, which, besides a multitude of later specimens, also contained a very considerable series of Roman Family and Imperial coins, had been under negotiation ever since January, 1816, and was finally effected for 18,000 dollars by a cabinet order of January 7th, 1821.

Of still greater importance, however, to the Royal collection of ancient coins was the purchase of a private collection already mentioned, which had reached Berlin at the beginning of this century—the Knobelsdorff collection. A manuscript catalogue of Sestini's, of the year 1804, describes 24 gold, 342 silver, and 1,342 copper coins of this collection. When it was taken possession of in January, 1823, it comprehended 1,851 Greek coins, among which were 26 of gold and 377 of silver. Since Pellerin had caused coins to be bought up all over Greece and the Levant, and had published them in a work which may be said to form an epoch, and since Eckhel had soon afterwards given an increased and scientific value to collections of Greek coins by his "*Doctrina Nummorum*," the passion for collecting in this most interesting branch of numismatics had been kindled afresh, and much was brought to light in this department which had hitherto remained unknown. The Royal collection, which, when it first became known towards the end of the seventeenth century, had been distinguished, considering the period, for the choiceness and beauty of its specimens of Greek coins, had in more modern times been surpassed by some others. By the purchase of the Knobelsdorff collection, it now acquired not only many of the Greek coins which had lately become familiar, but also a great number that were peculiar to this cabinet. This collection, however, having taken its rise in the East, does not extend to the countries

of the West. Italy and Sicily are omitted ; and the series begins with the Tauric Chersonesus.

With the great Egyptian collection of General von Minutoli, which arrived in Berlin in the summer of 1822, and was purchased in the year following, there came also into the Royal collection 54 silver and 33 copper coins of the Ptolemies, together with 96 Alexandrian in both metals.

At this period occurred a discovery, distinguished amongst the numerous similar acquisitions which are constantly made throughout the Prussian provinces. On the shores of the Baltic, near the village of Klein-Tromp in the neighbourhood of Braunsberg, is situated a hill which is called, in the language of the people, the Gold Mountain ; here from time to time Roman coins are found. On this spot, in the year 1822, 97 gold Imperial coins were ploughed up, which were purchased for 500 dollars by a Cabinet-order of the 28th of April, 1823 ; 79 of them were placed in the Royal collection, which afterwards acquired, for the sum of 75 dollars, 18 others discovered in the same locality in the year 1838. All these coins, with the exception of one much-worn *aureus* of Gordian III., of the year of our Lord 239, are preserved in the most perfect sharpness of the striking ; there are amongst them *solidi* from the reign of the Emperor Valentinianus I. to that of Placidius Valentinianus, from 364 to 455 of the Christian era. The excellent historian of Prussia, John Voigt of Königsberg, has founded a conjecture upon a letter of Cassiodorus ("Variarum," lib. v. Ep. 2), that these coins may have belonged to a treasure of the *Æstii*, at that time inhabiting Samland and Ermeland, who had sent a present of amber to Theodoric in Italy, and, as the letter of acknowledgment indicates, had received a considerable gift in return, consisting probably of gold coins ("Beiträge zur Kunde Preussens,"

vi. 412). If we assent to this very plausible conjecture, it must still always remain surprising, that among the coins discovered at Klein-Tromp, which constitute an uninterrupted series of 92 years, not a single specimen has yet been found, that either belongs to the last 37 years previous to Theodoric's reign, or is contemporary with him.

Not less interesting is another discovery of the year 1824. At Szubin, in the neighbourhood of Bromberg, a number of small early Greek coins in silver were ploughed up, which are almost uniformly impressed with the type of a wheel, or of a Gorgon's face, whilst the reverse bears a rude *Quadratum incusum*. The largest portion of this hoard, to the number of 39, together with a more modern Oriental coin, alleged to have been found with them, was added a year afterwards to the Royal collection. These coins, of which the like are also found in Attica and on the Thraco-Macedonian coast, and according to Cousinery are to be regarded as Attic, or as struck under Attic influence in Thracian and Macedonian silver, have the Attic weight established by Solon; there are 32 single *oboli*, two *drachmæ*, and two *didrachmæ*, and among them is found a *Triobolus*, of the usual Attic standard, besides two pieces of Ægina and Cyzicus. Conrad Levezow, who has illustrated this discovery in an academical treatise of the year 1833, is of opinion that these coins, which have penetrated into our regions by means of the earliest amber trade, came originally from Olbia.

A number of valuable Greek and Roman coins were purchased, in the beginning of the year 1827, at the Schellersheim auction. To the same year belongs a very important acquisition, that of the collection of coins of the Freiherr von Hermann in Memmingen; it was bought at a valuation for the price of 2,349 dollars, and on this pur-

chase were expended the proceeds of the duplicates sold, especially those of the Adler collection. After separating a number of more modern coins and a considerable quantity of duplicates, 3,641 pieces were transferred from the Hermann collection into the Royal cabinets, 215 in gold, 1,806 in silver, and 1,620 in copper and *potin*.

Hitherto the collection of ancient coins, together with the other departments of the Chamber of Art, had been preserved in the Royal palace, under the superintendence of Henry. This officer resigned his post in 1830, after an active service of nearly thirty-six years. The collection was transported into the newly-erected Museum, where it was joined to the other branches of the Antiquarium united under the direction of Levezow, and was placed in the same apartments which it occupies at the present hour. Four cabinets of cedar-wood, constructed in the reign of Frederick the Great, and richly decorated in a manner suitable to their contents, being the same cabinets which had previously held the coins and gems in the Temple of Antiquities, and afterwards in the Chamber of Art, were remodelled in their internal arrangements, and employed in the ensuing years for containing the Roman coins. To the Greek coins were appropriated some new cabinets, prepared from a design of Schinkel's, and preserved in an adjoining apartment, which also contains the gems. Up to this epoch, when the writer of this notice commenced his labours upon the collection, it had not been practicable to incorporate in its contents those collections which had been gradually annexed to it, such as the Adler, the Knobelsdorff, and the Hermann; but this, by the acquisition of further space, now first became possible.

A valuable collection of 600 ancient coins, in gold, silver, and copper, half of which consisted of coins of cities, prin-

cipally of Italy and Sicily, and the other half of coins of the Roman republic, among which 17 ancient weights were also found, arrived in the year 1832 from the Marchese Michele Arditì in Naples as a present to the Royal collection, and were described by the present writer in a separate catalogue.

A selection of Greek coins was obtained in April, 1833, from the collection of Herr von Knobelsdorff, Councillor of Legation, from whose father the before-mentioned Knobelsdorff collection had been at a former period derived. A Cabinet-order of the 3rd of December, 1836, authorized the purchase, for 1385 dollars, of a collection of Greek and Roman coins, the property of the Provincial Councillor, T. von Wolanski, well known for his writings on Slavonic antiquities. It contained 278 coins, 11 in gold, 157 in silver, 107 in copper, and 3 in lead, among them several very choice and unedited pieces.

After the death of the Director of the Antiquarium, Conrad Levezow, which ensued on the 13th October, 1835, his office devolved upon Professor E. H. Toelken, now Privy Councillor of the Regency, whose services to the Royal collections are, amongst other things, known by his catalogue of the gems.

In the year 1838, to which also belongs a discovery of coins on the coast of the Baltic, which has been mentioned before, there was found at the opposite extremity of the kingdom, at Gustorf in the district of Grevenbroich, a hoard of gold and silver coins of the earlier Roman emperors, preserved perfectly in a marsh. Out of these several pieces distinguished for their beauty were obtained for the Royal collection, such as the *aurei* of the Emperor Trajan and his sister Marciana, entered under Nos. 807 and 812 of the following description. Some valuable Sasanian coins, which were found in the same year at Birkow

valley of Tschorok ; some others, which Professor Koch presented, were obtained by him at Baku on the Caspian Sea, whither they had come from Persia. A series of very important accessions, since the year 1845, is due to the devoted exertions of Dr. Julius Friedlaender, who, during a long residence in Italy, both effected the purchase of a great number of individual specimens with the judgment of a true connoisseur, and also negotiated with equal ability and zeal the acquisition of some entire collections for the Royal cabinet. This cabinet obtained in the same manner, amongst other things, from the Kircher Museum in Rome, 95 early cast *Asses*, and parts of the *As*, for 148 scudi; also, from Dr. Braun, a series of 26 silver coins of the Social War, besides 4 other Oscan coins, for 100 scudi; and then from Capranesi, in Rome, for 1000 scudi, a more extensive collection of coins, which contained 1050 specimens, and (after the exchange of the duplicates) 994; including some treasures of the highest value, such as the *tetradrachma* of Cyrene, with the head of Ammon on the obverse, No. 439 of our description. A few single pieces from the collection left by Millingen, among them a gold coin of Tarentum, were purchased for 100 scudi; others from the Gabelenz collection, such as a *nummus restitutus* of the Titia Family (No. 661), were selected at Baseggio's in Rome. Prince San Giorgio Spinelli, of Naples, ceded for 200 piastres 39 rare coins, including the coin of the Samnites (No. 15), representing the combat of the Roman she-wolf with the Italian bull. This indefatigable numismatist explored the most remote and unknown districts of Lower Italy with the happiest results. The extremely rare coin, for example, with the legend "Safinium" (No. 14 of the following description) was originally brought from Campi, near Lecce. The number of Sicilian coins already in the

Royal collection was nearly doubled at this time ; 404 were purchased by Herr Friedlaender, including 3 *decadrachmæ* from Syracuse, and coins of fourteen previously unrepresented cities. In the aggregate 3356 coins were in this manner obtained between the years 1845 and 1847 from Italy, Sicily, Corfu, and Vienna ; namely, 28 in gold, 817 in silver, and 2511 in copper ; it was, in fact, one of the most important acquisitions, both in extent and selectness, that ever fell to the share of the Royal collection. Many of the coins in the ensuing description, including those figured in Plate I. (Nos. 2, 3, and 5), Plate II. (No. 2), and Plate III. (No. 8), belong to this number.

At the same period there was no lack of acquisitions from other sources. A collection obtained partly in the East Indies, partly in Corfu, and belonging to the Captain of Horse Von Streng, in Stralsund, was incorporated by donation into the Royal collection in the year 1845 ; it contained some rare Indo-Scythic regal coins, and numerous specimens from Corcyra. In the year 1846, the Royal collection procured 67 pieces from the Heideken sale in Berlin, including a number of rare Egyptian coins of the Nomes ; likewise some great curiosities from the property of the deceased Colonel Schmidt, such as No. 319 of our description ; and others, chiefly Contorniates, for instance No. 1105, from the Campana sale in London. In the following year 243 Greek, and 21 Roman coins, were purchased at the sale of Welzl von Wellenheim in Vienna, for the sum of 982 florins. In later years, moreover, through means of important purchases from collectors and dealers in coins, such as Hoffmann in Paris, Sedlmair in Augsburg, Promber in Vienna, and especially Lambros in Corfu, not merely have many previously observable deficiencies been supplied, but spe-

cimens of coins first known through recent discoveries, and some solitary and unedited examples, have also been acquired.

Even after the completion of the numerical table, printed at the end of this volume, of the ancient coins existing in the Royal collection, a selection of 164 most valuable specimens was purchased in Corfu, of Lambros; the number of the early Spanish coins was likewise increased by an importation of 61 pieces from Malaga, among which, for example, are to be found the rare coins of Asta and Caura; lastly, 798 Greek coins, which Herr Leopold Güterbock, the painter, a native of Berlin, had collected during an artistic tour of three years in Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, and especially in Cyprus, were procured for 1500 dollars. Coins of Cyprus and Cilicia,—of the Persian, Syrian, and Egyptian kings,—and particularly a *tetradrachma* of Antigonus Gonatas, hitherto unedited, are to be distinguished in this collection, and have in part been just published in our “Beiträge zur Älteren Münzkunde,” (vol. i. p. 180, Pl. V, VI.)

After repeated separation of duplicates, of which above 3000 pieces were once sold by auction, in the year 1844, the present state of the Royal collection of ancient coins is as follows. In the numerical table at the end of this volume are reckoned up 12,833 Greek coins, namely, 190 in gold, 3481 in silver, and 9162 in copper; and 23,101 Roman coins, of which 1059 are gold, 10,986 silver, and 11,056 brass—in all 35,934 pieces. The collection further contains 486 ancient pieces in lead. A carefully arranged series of modern copies and fabrications embraces 1967 pieces, namely, 27 in gold, 560 in silver, and 1380 in copper. To these numbers, which the numerical table separately specifies, must be added that of the above-men-

tioned coins, which have only lately been obtained, and which amount to 1023,—21 in gold, 300 in silver, and 702 in copper. Consequently, the aggregate amounts to 1297 coins in gold, 15,327 in silver, and 22,786 in inferior metals; in all 39,410 pieces.

The collection is carefully classified according to Eckhel's system, with due regard to more modern researches; and to the separate coins is annexed, upon sheets of paper lying underneath, the information as to their origin, the place where they have been described or engraved, and whatever else may serve to their elucidation. The author has here to acknowledge the genuine service rendered him by Dr. Julius Friedlaender.

The great Mionnet collection of sulphur casts from the coins in the cabinet of Paris, which comprises about 20,000 pieces, is likewise exhibited in the same arrangement as Mionnet's work, and affords a very needful aid to numismatic study. Among existing impressions from other collections, ~~we~~ may particularly notice 126 electrotypes from select Greek coins in the Ducal collection at Gotha.

In order to render the Royal collection of ancient coins as universally useful as possible, and to promote the influence which the constant inspection of these beautiful and instructive monuments may exercise upon Art and Science, a selection of Greek and Roman coins, which not merely offers much curiosity to the connoisseur, but also presents to the uninitiated a general view of the entire system of coinage, has been publicly exposed on tables adapted for exhibition; and the following pages are designed to supply the spectator with the necessary explanations.

M. PINDER.

cimens of coins first known through recent discoveries, and some solitary and unedited examples, have also been acquired.

Even after the completion of the numerical table, printed at the end of this volume, of the ancient coins existing in the Royal collection, a selection of 164 most valuable specimens was purchased in Corfu, of Lambros; the number of the early Spanish coins was likewise increased by an importation of 61 pieces from Malaga, among which, for example, are to be found the rare coins of Asta and Caura; lastly, 798 Greek coins, which Herr Leopold Güterbock, the painter, a native of Berlin, had collected during an artistic tour of three years in Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, and especially in Cyprus, were procured for 1500 dollars. Coins of Cyprus and Cilicia,—of the Persian, Syrian, and Egyptian kings,—and particularly a *tetradrachma* of Antigonus Gonatas, hitherto unedited, are to be distinguished in this collection, and have in part been just published in our “Beiträge zur Älteren Münzkunde,” (vol. i. p. 180, Pl. V, VI.)

After repeated separation of duplicates, of which above 3000 pieces were once sold by auction, in the year 1844, the present state of the Royal collection of ancient coins is as follows. In the numerical table at the end of this volume are reckoned up 12,833 Greek coins, namely, 190 in gold, 3481 in silver, and 9162 in copper; and 23,101 Roman coins, of which 1059 are gold, 10,986 silver, and 11,056 brass—in all 35,934 pieces. The collection further contains 486 ancient pieces in lead. A carefully arranged series of modern copies and fabrications embraces 1967 pieces, namely, 27 in gold, 560 in silver, and 1380 in copper. To these numbers, which the numerical table separately specifies, must be added that of the above-men-

XXIII.

WEIGHTS OF GREEK COINS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, November 23rd, 1854.]

London, 21st November, 1854.

MY DEAR MR. BURGON,

IN submitting to your perusal some remarks on the weights of Greek coins, with a view to the communication of them to the Numismatic Society, should they appear to you sufficiently interesting for this purpose, I abstain from referring to any of the extant learned works on Greek metrology, because it seems to me, that no theory on weights can be safely derived from any other source than the coins themselves. * The numismatic evidence derivable from the Greek and Latin authors of the later ages of antiquity, is, in general, so vague and contradictory, that no reliance can be placed upon it, unless when it is confirmed by the monuments. The following observations, therefore, are founded entirely on a careful review of the weights of Greek coins, as recorded in my own catalogue, and in those of the Pembroke and Hunter collections, in the "Nummi in Museo Britannico" of Taylor Combe, in the Thomas collection,—the coins of which, as well as those of the Pembroke, were weighed by yourself,—and in the catalogue of the Italian coins of Carelli.

The progress of arts and letters appears to have held a course quite independent of each other in European and in Asiatic Greece, though brought to perfection in either

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MISCELLANEA.

CHARACA IN LYDIA (?)—Millingen (*Sylloge of Ancient Un-edited Coins*, p. 79, Pl. 17, No. 56) attributes to Characa in Lydia a coin of Drusus, described as follows :—

ΔΡΟΥΣΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. Juvenile head of Drusus; before the head, a vase in countermark.

R.—(M)ENOΦANT(OY) ΚΑΡΑΚΙ... A caduceus. Æ. 3.

As this rather doubtful attribution has been adopted by Mr. Akerman, in his excellent *Numismatic Manual*, and has thence passed into that of Werlhof, I think it is advisable to call attention to a coin described by Sestini (*Lettre Numismatique*, vol. viii., p. 70, Tab. v., No. 25)—

ΔΡΟΥΣΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ. Caput Drusi Cæs. nudum.

R.—ΕΠΙ ΜΕΝΟΦΑΝ. ΜΟΣΘΙΔΙΟΥ ΑΡ.Α.ΚΥ In area, ΜΑΙΩΝ. Duplex cornucopiæ in decussim positum intermedio caduceo. Æ. 3. Mus. Seckendorff.

Millingen's plate would seem to favour the reading KY instead of KI. It is difficult to reconcile the readings in all respects; but we may safely conclude, that whether or not it belongs to Cyme, Sestini's attribution, it cannot belong to Characa in Lydia. Millingen's plate reads ΔΡΟΥΣΟΥ ΚΑΙΣ...Σ, thus agreeing with Sestini; and it is evident that the coins are the same, although the end of the legend, which in Sestini's was placed in the field, has in Millingen's evidently found room in the margin.—W. H. S.

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country by the same ingenious race of men. While the Doric order of architecture was indigenous in Europe, and arose from a wooden construction, Asiatic Greek architecture seems to have been formed from successive improvements on the Phœnician, so that the temple of Jerusalem was probably a prototype of the Ionic order. It was chiefly through Phrygia and Lydia that the arts reached the Greek settlements of the western provinces, where they were brought to perfection. Under these circumstances, we cannot be surprised to find an Asiatic and an European claim to the invention of a symbolized monetary currency. Herodotus, as an Asiatic Greek, gives the honour to Lydia, a country, as he remarks, which possesses mines both of gold and silver; and never alludes to the claim of Ægina to a priority, which was generally acknowledged in European Greece, and justly so, if the invention occurred in the reign of Pheidon of Argos, who was more ancient than Gyges, the founder of the Lydian monarchy. As in their architecture, so also in their money, the Asiatic Greeks differed from the European,—in the standards, and in the multiples or subdivisions, as well as in the metals of which the money was chiefly composed. While silver, which abounded in European Greece, was there the only material, we find in Asia, prior to the Macedonian conquest, which brought all Greece to a level, coins of gold, coins of silver, of a mixture of gold and silver, and of a mixture of silver with some baser metal. Nevertheless, there was one point of strong resemblance in the money of all the principal Greek cities, both of Europe and Asia. A weight, equi-ponderant of the Attic didrachmon, occurred as an unit, or, at least, as an important step in the monetary scales, as well of Persia, Lydia, and the Greek cities of Asia, as of Athens, Corinth, the Corinthian colonies, and the chief cities of Italian

Greece and Sicily. This weight I believe to have been introduced into Lydia from Phœnicia, and to have come originally from Egypt.

The words "obolus" and "drachma" are themselves strong arguments in favour of the ancient tradition, that the monetary art in European Greece originated at Ægina, in a drachma divided into six oboli; and that prior to the reign of Pheidon of Argos, of whose dominions Ægina was a portion, and the emporium of its foreign commerce, there was a currency of ὀβελίσκοι, or small pyramidal pieces of silver, six of which were considered a handful (δραχμή). It is easy to believe that Athens at that time, being inferior to Ægina in commercial prosperity, was the follower, and not the predecessor, of the latter in the coining of money; but that possessing silver mines, the Athenians were not long behind the people of Ægina in the adoption of this invention. About the year 600, B.C., Solon reduced the weight of the drachma, for the purpose of remedying an evil which is still very common in Turkey as well as in other countries, namely, the servile dependency of many of the lower and most industrious classes upon their tyrannical creditors. Plutarch says, that Solon ordained that the Mna (in Latin, Mina), which had before contained 73 drachmæ, should thenceforth contain 100 drachmæ (ἐκατὸν γὰρ ἐποίησε δραχμῶν τὴν Μνᾶν, πρότερον ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τριῶν οὔσαν. Solon, 15). It appears probable, therefore, that the Mina (MNA, a Phœnician word) had been an Athenian weight before the invention of coined money at Ægina; and that the Athenians having, in imitating the invention of the Æginetans, adopted the names and weights of their money, had found that 73 drachmæ of Ægina were equal in weight to their Mna. The proportion in which Solon reduced the drachma affords a confirmation

of this hypothesis, 100 to 73 being the proportion between the Æginetan and Attic drachmæ, or nearly so; for supposing the standard of the Æginetan drachma to have been 93 grains Troy, this proportion of 100 to 73 would give for the Attic drachma almost exactly 68 grains, which was about the weight of the drachma, according to the earliest specimens of Athenian money. Great accuracy in such a case is not to be expected; for if experience proves, that the simple maintenance of a correct national standard requires constant attention, how much more difficult must it now be to ascertain those of distant ages.

Although Herodotus may not be correct in assigning the priority of the invention of money to Lydia, we may safely infer from his authority, that the coinage of Lydia was more ancient than that of the Greek cities of Asia. The concurring testimony of yourself, and of the late Mr. Borrell, both long resident at Smyrna, are sufficient, in my opinion, to prove Sardes to have been the place where those archaic pieces of an oblong form were produced, which present, both in gold and silver, on one side the heads of a bull and gaping lion opposed to each other,¹ and on the reverse a rude incuse. These, therefore, were the money of the Lydian kingdom, to which Cyrus put an end by the capture of Cræsus and Sardes in B.C. 548. As Darius, son of Hystaspes, prided himself on having established the coinage of money in Persia,² we may be assured it is from him that the extant coins of Persia in gold and silver derive their name. Their resemblance to those of Lydia in form,

¹ The lion was an accompaniment and a symbol of the goddess MA, or Cybele, whose temple at Sardes was one of the most magnificent in Asia. The bull represented probably the river Pactolus.

² Herod. iv. 166.

in style, and particularly in the weight of the principal silver coin, which in both coinages, when perfect, weighed about 84 grains troy,³ leave no question as to the Persian coinage being an imitation of the Lydian. It was the case of a conqueror adopting the arts of the conquered. The only difference is in the weight of the gold Daric, which is three or four grains heavier than the Lydian gold coin, the latter weighing about 125 grains. This weight, as I before observed, seems to have been introduced into Lydia from the country whence she derived arts and letters, namely, Phœnicia, where, as well as in Judea, it appears that a unity of weight existed, named Shekel, from Shakal, to weigh, that is to say, it was "the weight," κατ' ἐξοχήν. And this weight appears to have been the same as the Egyptian unit of weight, for we learn from Horapollon that the Μονάς, or unit, which they held to be the basis of all numeration, was equal to two drachmæ;⁴ and δίδραχμον is employed synonymously with σίκλος for the Hebrew word shekel by the Greek Septuagint, consequently, the shekel and the didrachmon were of the same weight. I am aware

³ This coin is accurately described by Xenophon (Anab. i. 5, 6) as equal to 7½ Attic oboli, Ὅ δὲ σίγλος δύναται ἑπτὰ ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμισβόλιον. The obolus of full weight was 11·25 grains (Num. Hellenica Europe, p. 21), 11·25 × 7·5 = 85·375, 84 is about the weight of the most perfect silver Darics. As this accords neither with the shekel of the Septuagint, equal to an Attic didrachmon, nor with the Ἑβραίων νόμισμα, called the *Shekel*, we must conclude that the word Σίγλος, though the same as the Σίκλος of the Septuagint, and derived from *Shekel*, was applied by the Greeks of Asia to this peculiar coin, which was the principal silver currency of Persia. In fact, nine-tenths of the Lydian and Persian silver money now extant are of this weight.

⁴ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις Μονάς ἐστὶν αἱ δύο δραχμαί· Μονάς δὲ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ γένεσις. Εὐλόγως οὖν δύο δράχμας βουλόμενοι δηλώσαι γῦπα γράφουσι ἐπεὶ μήτηρ δοκεῖ καὶ γένεσις εἶναι, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Μονάς.—Horapollon, i. 11.

that some learned commentators are of opinion that the translators here meant a didrachmon of the Græco-Egyptian scale, which weighed about 110 grains; but it is hardly credible that *δίδραχμον* should have been thus employed without any distinguishing epithet, at a time when the Ptolemaic scale was yet of recent origin, the word didrachmon, on the other hand, having for ages been applied to a silver money, of about 130 grains, in the currency of all cities which followed the Attic or Corinthian standard, as well as in the silver money of Alexander the Great and his successors. In all these currencies, as well as in those of Lydia and Persia, the stater was an Attic didrachmon, or, at least, with no greater difference of standard than occurs among modern nations using the same denomination of weight or measure; and hence the word *δίδραχμον* was at length employed as a measure of weight, without any reference to its origin in the Attic drachma. Thus we find the drachma of gold described as equivalent to ten didrachma,⁵ and the half-shekel of the Pentateuch translated by the Septuagint τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Attic, and not the Græco-Egyptian didrachmon, was intended by them.

The Egyptian *Monas*, as the parent of all numeration (παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ γένεσις), was appropriately represented by the same hieroglyphic as "Mother," namely, the vulture, and it partook of the sanctity of that peculiarly sacred bird. Hence, probably, it happened that in the Greek translation made in Egypt, the Shekel-ha-kodesh, or Shekel of the Sanctuary, was not rendered σίκλος or δίδραχμον τοῦ ἁγίου, but δίδραχμον τὸ ἅγιον, as if the translators had in mind the sanctity of the monas, as well as its identity with the

⁵ Hesychius in *δραχμή*.

Mosaic shekel. And thus it appears highly probable, that Moses, together with the arts and customs of Egypt, brought the monas with him into the desert, and deposited it in the sanctuary of the Tabernacle, to remain in the custody of the priests, and to serve as a standard for ever. The monas had, long perhaps before the time of the Exodus, established itself in Phœnicia, and had there taken the name of "the shekel" about the same time, when the *alphabet* was invented by an improvement upon Egyptian hieroglyphics.

In the second book of Samuel (ii. 14, 26) the shekel is called ὁ σίκλος ὁ βασιλικός: it was probably deposited in the sanctuary of the Temple of Solomon.

In this question, we must be careful to distinguish between the Mosaic shekel (*the weight*) and the extant Jewish silver money (*νόμισμα Ἑβραίων*), equally called Shekel, as appears by the words "Shekel Israel," inscribed upon it. That the Mosaic shekel was nothing more than a weight, is evident from numerous passages in the Old Testament. It is a mistake to suppose that Genesis (xxiii. 16) proves the existence of money at that time, because our version makes mention of "money current with the merchant"; there is no word corresponding to "money" in the original, and in the Septuagint the words imply only "four hundred shekels of good silver, such as is approved of by merchants."⁶ The half-shekel of silver, paid to the Lord by every male of the children of Israel as a ransom for his soul,⁷ had nothing in common with the tribute paid by the Jews to the Roman emperor. The tribute was a denarius, in the English version a penny⁸; the duty to the temple was a didrachmon, two

⁶ τετρακόσια δίδραχμα ἀργυρίου δοκίμου ἐμπόροις.—Gen. xxiii. 16.

⁷ τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου ὃ ἐστὶν κατὰ τὸ δίδραχμον τὸ ἅγιον... εἰσφορά Κυρίῳ.....ἐξιλιάσασθαι περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν.—Exod. xxx. 13, 15.

⁸ Εἰπὲ οὖν ἡμῖν, τί σοι δοκεῖ; ἔξεστι δοῦναι κῆνσον (censum) Καίσαρι, ἢ οὐ; Γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν, εἶπε, Τί με

of which made a stater.⁹ It appears that the half-shekel of ransom had, in the time of our Saviour, been converted into the payment of a didrachmon to the temple; and two of these didrachma formed a stater of the Jewish currency. This stater was evidently the extant "Shekel Israel," which was a tetradrachmon of the Ptolemaic scale, though generally below the standard weight, like most of the extant specimens of the Ptolemies;¹⁰ the didrachmon paid to the temple was, therefore, of the same monetary scale. Thus the duty to the temple was converted from the half of an Attic to the whole of a Ptolemaic didrachmon, and the tax was nominally raised in the proportion of about 105 to 65; but, probably, the value of silver had fallen as much in the two preceding centuries. It was natural that the Jews, when they began to strike money, should have revived the old name Shekel, and applied it to their Stater, or principal coin; and equally so, that they should have adopted the scale of the neighbouring opulent and powerful kingdom, the money of which they must have long been in the habit of employing. The inscription on the coin appears to have been expressly

πειράζετε ὑποκριταί; Ἐπιδεικτέ μοι τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσον. Οἱ δὲ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δηνάριον.—*Matt.* xxii. 17. Ἐπιδείξατέ μοι δηνάριον.—*Luc.* xx. 22.

⁹ ...προσηλθον οἱ τὰ δίδραχμα λαμβάνοντες.....προέφθασεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων, Τί σοι δοκεῖ, Σίμων, οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ τίνων λαμβάνουσι τέλη, ἢ κήνσον; ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτῶν, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων. Ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἀραγε ἐλεύθεροί εἰσιν οἱ υἱοί. Ἴνα δὲ μὴ σκανδαλίζωμεν αὐτοὺς, παρευθεῖς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, βάλε ἄγκιστρον καὶ τὸν ἀναβάντα πρῶτον ἰχθὺν ἄρον καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εὐρήσεις στατήρα· ἐκεῖνον λαβὼν, δὸς αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ.—*Matt.* xvii. 24, *seq.*

¹⁰ Josephus (*Antiq.* III. viii. 2) says this shekel was equal to four Attic drachmæ (ὁ δὲ σίκλος, νόμισμα Ἑβραίων ὢν, Ἀττικῆς δέχεται δραχμὰς τέσσαρας). He must have meant four Greco-Egyptian, not Attic, drachmæ, as the weight of the extant coin proves. Vespasian ordered the Jews of Rome to pay two drachmæ to the Capitol: ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰς τὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ.—*Joseph.* B. J. VII. vi. 6.

intended to distinguish the monetary shekel or stater from the Shekel ha-Kodesh, or Shekel of the Sanctuary.

That the Greek cities of Asia Minor founded their monetary scales upon the Phœnician shekel, either through Lydia or by the early communication of the Phœnicians with the maritime cities, seems evident from the stater of Cyzicus (*Κυζικηνὸς στατήρ*), which weighs about 250 grains, or the exact double of the extant Lydian gold coins. This double weight of the Cyzicene stater has led to the belief, that the extant Lydian coins may be half staters, and that the Crœseian stater (*Κροῖσειος στατήρ*) may have had the same weight as the Cyzicene. But as the Persian coinage was decidedly an imitation of the Lydian, and as Xenophon (*Anab. i. 7, 11*) informs us that the Daric (*Δαρεικὸς στατήρ*) was equivalent to 20 Attic drachmæ, we may fairly presume that the extant gold coins of Lydia, weighing a didrachmon, were, as well as the Darics, staters; and that it was the number, and not the magnitude of the Crœseian staters, which caused them to be symbolical of riches.¹¹ We must consider, also, that until Darics became common, the Lydian was the only, or almost the only, gold coin known to the Greeks, either of Europe or Asia.

The currency of Cyzicus, Phocæa, and some other of the principal Greek cities of Western Asia Minor, was peculiar, differing from that of European Greece in the double weight of the stater, as well as in the material of which its coins were composed, which was not gold but electrum, or a natural amalgam of about three-fourths gold and one-fourth silver.¹² This double didrachmon was subdivided

¹¹ *Κροῖσειων αἰετῶτερον στατήρων*.—*Plutarch de gerend. repub.*, c. 31.

¹² That it was an indigenous amalgam is proved by the Hectæ, which present a great variety of auro-argentine shades, while

into sixths (*Ἑκταί*), which are pieces of beautiful workmanship, very accurate in weight, and showing, by their varied types, that they formed a large portion of the currency of Mysia, Æolis, and Ionia. Unhappily, the Hectæ are anepigraph; but some of their types indicate that Lesbus, Pergamus, and Erythræ, were among the cities to which they belonged, as well as Phocæa and Cyzicus. As we have no proofs of the former existence of any entire staters, except those of Cyzicus and Phocæa, the Hectæ seem to have formed the main body of the currency of the several Asiatic Greek cities in the ages between the fall of Lydia and the conquest of Asia by Alexander, during which period there appears to have been no great abundance of silver money in those cities.

To return to the weights of European Greece, the question still remains: Why did Solon, in reducing the value of the drachma from the Æginetan standard, fix upon the ratio of 73 to 100 for that reduction. It could not have been solely for the sake of the round number, though conveniences of calculation afforded by the number 100 may have influenced him to the extent of a few grains in the amount of his reduction. The answer to the question will be found, I believe, in his wish to assimilate the Attic monetary scale to that of Corinth. The proportion in which he reduced the Attic drachma, made the Attic di-

their correct uniformity of weight shows that they must have been of equal value in the currency. The mines of this mixed metal appear to have been in Mount Tmolus; for Sophocles alludes to the electrum of Sardes. In the *Antigone*, Creon, expressing his determination not to suffer the body of Philoctetes to be buried, says—

Κερδαίνετ' ἐμπολάτε τὸ πρὸ Σάρδεων
 "Ἡλεκτρον, εἰ βούλεισθε, καὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν
 Χρυσόν· τάφῳ δ' ἐκείνον οὐχὶ κρύψετε.—v. 1049.

drachmon equal to the Corinthian stater. It is evident, that the Corinthian monetary scale had a different origin from those of Ægina and Athens. While the scales of these two cities were founded on the drachma, and consisted of its multiples and fractions, the principal coin of Corinth was a stater of silver, of the same weight indeed as the didrachmon of Athens, but divided into ten *litraë*, and is described by Julius Pollux as the *Κορίνθιος* or *δεκάλιτρος στατήρ*.¹³ Probably, like the Lydian gold coin, its weight came from Phœnicia. The Acrocorinthus was unquestionably one of those strong maritime positions of which the Phœnicians took possession in the prosecution of commercial enterprise, and where they introduced the worship of the Syrian goddess, whom the Greeks converted into Venus Urania, as we find exemplified in the similar positions of Paphus, Cnidus, Cythera, and Eryx, all Phœnician settlements, and all celebrated for their temples of Venus. At the Acrocorinthus, Venus was preferred even to Minerva, the customary guardian of Greek citadels, though there was also at Corinth a Phœnician Minerva,¹⁴ and a mountain in the Corinthia called *Φοινίκαιον*,¹⁵ both indications of an early Phœnician settlement. It is remarkable also, that Venus is honoured equally with Pallas on the obverses of Corinthian coins. Solon, therefore, in fixing upon the proportion of 73 to 100, made practically a monetary alliance

¹³ It seems likely that every considerable city had a staple money called the stater; those in gold were generally didrachma. The staters of Athens (Phot. Lex in *στατήρ*) and Judæa were tetradrachma of silver; those of Phocæa, Cyzicus, and other Asiatic cities, were tetradrachma of electrum; that of Corinth, a didrachmon of silver.

¹⁴ *Φοινίκη ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ*.—*Tzetzes ap. Lycophr.*, 658.

¹⁵ Ephorus ap. Stephan. in v.

with Corinth, which at that time was, equally with Athens, a rival of the wealthy and prosperous Ægina. The effect of this numismatic union between Athens and Corinth has been, that Athenian didrachma are very scarce, and Corinthian staters very common; on the other hand, the Athenian tetradrachma are very numerous, while no double stater of Corinth has yet been published, the mints of the two cities having apparently acted in concert by means of these two points of their respective scales.

From a general examination of weights we may deduce, that the Æginetan standard accompanied the use of the Æolic dialect through the Doric states of the Peloponnesus, and was generally adopted in Crete, as well as throughout Bœotia and Thessaly, in both of which provinces, until the Roman conquest, the Æolic dialect was in use, as well as the Æginetan monetary scale. The principal colonies of Italy and Sicily having been derived chiefly from Achaia and Corinth, we are not surprised to find the Corinthian weight and monetary scale prevailing among them. In Macedonia, Philip II. chose for his celebrated staters of gold the weight of the Athenian didrachmon or Corinthian stater, but adhered to the old Macedonian scale in his silver coinage. It is difficult to form an opinion on the origin of this latter scale. It does not appear to be Æginetan, which might have been presumed from the Argive origin of the royal family of Macedonia. Possibly it was Eubœan, mention being made in ancient authors of an Euboic talent as different from the Attic, and the coins of some of the cities of that island being apparently on a scale which does not correspond to the Attic. We find the same weight, having a unit of from 55 to 57 grains, in the money of Chalcis of Eubœa, of Chalcis of Macedonia, of the Bisaltæ, and of

Alexander the First.¹⁶ We find it equally in the Græco-Egyptian series, where it appears that Ptolemy Soter adopted the old Macedonian standard instead of that which had been employed by Alexander the Great and his successors. It was Alexander who first employed the Attic scale for the Macedonian silver coinage, which he was probably induced to adopt for the same reason that prompted Solon to assimilate the Attic weight to the Corinthian, namely, commercial convenience.

As all monetary standards have a tendency to degenerate, it cannot be expected that Greece was ultimately an exception, although the productions of some of its mints preserved their accuracy of weight for a length of time unexampled, unless perhaps in some of the most commercial and wealthy states of modern Europe. Debasement is most observable in the cities, whether of Doric or Ionic origin, which were the farthest removed from the two centres of commerce and colonial civilisation, Athens and Syracuse. Cities having little union with others by bonds either of politics or trade, and having thus a currency of limited circulation, would naturally be less interested in maintaining the credit of their currency beyond the limits of the state. In the interval between the Macedonian conquest and the Roman, the circulation in silver appears to

¹⁶ A hoard of more than 200 silver coins, *all* weighing about 35 grains, were found in Macedonia, in 1827. About half of them were inscribed ΙΣΤΙΑΙΕΩΝ, the other half, ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ. All had a feminine head of Bacchus on the obverse; on the reverse of those of Histiaea was, as usual, a female seated on a galley; on the reverse of the Macedonian, the prow of a galley. It appears that Chalcis and Histiaea adhered to the old Euboic standard, while Eretria and Carystus adopted that of Athens. Another neighbour of the Athenians, namely, Carthæa Cææ, seems also to have abandoned its old standard, the Æginetan, for the Attic, when Athens became powerful — *Vide Num. Hellen. Ins.*, p. 6.

have consisted chiefly of the money of Athens, of Corinth and its colonies, of Alexander and his successors, of the Cistophori of Asia, of the chief Sicilian cities, and of Taras and Neopolis in Italy. We find, that not long after the Roman authority had completely established itself over Greece, Asia, and the Italo-Greek cities, the Solonian drachma of 68 grains, and the Roman denarius of 112 grains, had both declined to the weight of 60 grains.

To resume, as briefly as possible. The principal objects of this Letter are two. 1. To discover how it came to pass, that in Lydia, in Persia, and among the independent communities and kingdoms which constituted Greece in Asia, Europe, Italy, and Sicily, there was, except in the Æolic and Doric cities, one point in the monetary currency common to all, namely, an equiponderant of the Attic didrachmon. 2. To account for the motive of Solon in reducing the weight of the drachma in the proportion of 73 to 100.

I remain, etc.,

WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE.

Thomas Burgon, Esq.,
British Museum.

XXIV.

COINS OF GERMANUS.

M. DE LORICHS.

M. DE LORICHS, in his somewhat remarkable book (*Recherches Numismatiques*, 4to., Paris, 1852, p. 224), wishes apparently to class to Spain the coin with *Germanus Indutilli, f.*, lately remarked upon in the Chronicle (Vol. XVI.).

He remarks that this coin is frequently found in Spain. He says, that the name *Germanus* has a Δ instead of A, and, consequently, points out the inaccuracy of Mionnet's copy of the legend. I must, however, state distinctly, that of the three specimens I possess, two have the transverse bar of the A, and its absence is doubtful in the third, which makes it very remarkable that all seen by M. de Lorichs should, according to him, have Δ .

He joins together the letters VTI, and considers these letters to represent the Roman numerals VII. He also joins together the letters LLI, which, indeed, usually appear so on the coins, but converts them into *one* Celtiberian letter. He also denies the existence of a point before the last letter; in this, however, I cannot agree with him, as it is quite distinct on one of mine. By these means he, in pursuance of his system, which I may be allowed to call by the expressive name "*Harduinesque*," finds the legend to signify *INTERioris Provinciae SEPTIMA EXterioris PRIMA* (?) He is also obliged to read P for D, against the authority of his own plate.

We are to supply, apparently, the word *Officina*, and probably to consider *Germanus* as the head, or *Curator* of the seventh mint of the Interior Province, and of the first of the Exterior. I do not make M. de Lorichs, indeed, responsible for this explanation, as it would require *Septimæ* (*Officinæ*), which he does not give. But at the same time, I avow that I do not clearly understand what other explanation can be given, unless we are to suppose that the unknown mint, where these coins were issued, was at the same time seventh of the interior province and first of the exterior, and this is rather problematic.

M. de Lorichs is quite correct in stating that his system is diametrically opposed to everything hitherto proposed, for he classes all Spanish coins to the period of the Roman occupation, without explaining why the Romans took the trouble of coining at the same time Latin and Celtiberian coins, and why the Spaniards themselves did not coin at all. He considers, also, that instead of denoting the names of towns, the Spanish legends, *written in Latin*, contain monetary notes and abbreviations, similar to those of the Lower Empire. A specimen of his system is seen above, as applied to the coin of Germanus.

This plan of interpretation, when applied to the few inscriptions on stone, or on ornaments, found either in Spain or in *Wallachia*, brings out the singular result that all these inscriptions refer to the moneyers and to the mints of the places where they were found, as also that the ornaments proceeded from *such an* office of *such a* mint! M. de Lorichs thinks it quite natural that the workmen should have so employed themselves, and should have engraved the number of their *office*.

When applied to the inscription of the Xanthian obelisk, the system of M. de Lorichs has enabled him to discover

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that this long inscription mainly refers to the Roman mint, which *must have been* established in Xanthus.

However, the work of M. de Lorichs is one of great value as respects Spanish numismatics, from the very great number of plates, containing a great number of unpublished Celtiberian and African coins, many of great interest, and many, I must say, excessively puzzling. One of these I may mention, drawn from Pl. xlii., No. 5—

BACIA in exergue. Bull tossing, to right.

R.—IOBA in exergue. Lion running, to right. Æ.

M. de Lorichs classes this coin to *Bacia*, and interprets the reverse *Prima Officina Baticæ*. What numismatist will refuse to see here a coin of Juba II.? Hitherto, the Greek legends on his coins have always referred to his queen, and this is the first on which his own name has appeared in the Greek form; but he wrote in Greek.

M. Boudard's *Études sur l'Alphabet Iberien*, and his letters in the *Revue Archéologique*, are of very great value; but it appears to me, that in changing the power of one or two letters from those given by M. de Saulcy, he has not improved the alphabet. I refer in particular to the broad A, or O of De Saulcy, which is difficult to distinguish from T. I believe that in reading this letter T in all cases M. Boudard is incorrect, and the work of M. de Lorichs will, I think, bring some additional evidence on this point. I look, also, upon his distinction of B from R, according to the length of the loop, as illusory; and he is obliged to explain the *constant* interchange of these forms by a *constant* blunder. I freely acknowledge the great value of his researches, however, although differing on one or two points. I hope at some future time to return more fully to this subject, if no one better able to examine it comes forward.

W. H. S.

XXV.

ON A RARE COIN OF TYNDARIS, IN SICILY.

BORGHESI, in the *Mémoire Numismatique* of Diamilla Müller (Paris edition, p. 91, pl. 6), describes a very curious Sicilian coin, of which one specimen is in the French cabinet and another in that of Denmark—

AuGVSTVS . TyNDAR. Bare head of Augustus to right.

R.—L. MVSSIDI. PROCOS in a laurel garland. Æ. 20 millim.

Falbe had at first considered the Danish specimens as African, belonging, probably, to the Cyrenaïca; but on cleaning it, after Borghesi had doubted this attribution, and, comparing it to the coins with the name of the Proconsul Sisenna (see *Num. Chron.*, xiv., p. 123), had supposed it Sicilian, he ascertained that the letters NDAR occurred on obverse. Borghesi does not hesitate to supply the deficient letters TY, and to consider the coin as struck in Tyndaris, known from Pliny (*Lib. iii.*, cap. 14, not cap. 8, as in Borghesi) and from inscriptions (*Bullet. Archeol.*, 1845, p. 59—62), to have been a colony, and apparently so made by Augustus (COL.AVG.TYNDAR).

No vestige of the word TYNDAR, or of any other name, appears on my two coins, so that it must remain uncertain in what part of Sicily they were struck. The AY on both

are united into a monogram, which is indistinct on the Danish coin.

My conjecture as to their African origin must, of course, be abandoned. Borghesi, who possesses specimens, and who is well qualified to judge, pronounced them evidently Sicilian; and from the similarity to them of the Danish coin, considered as African by the late M. Falbe, he restored to Sicily this coin, and, as has been seen, his restoration was confirmed by facts.

Borghesi refers to his *Decade* xvii. *osserv.* vii., for an explanation of the Sisenna coins, and to *Decade* xv. *osserv.* v., for that of Q. Terentius Culleo, which is also Sicilian. I am, unfortunately, unable to consult these observations. I may mention, however, that Sestini had already classed to Lilybæum the coin of Culleo, saying that a coin in the possession of Dr. Nott had on obverse the word LILYB (in *Mus. Heder. Catal. Castigationes*, p. 91, col. 2). This indication seems to have been passed over by the writers of manuals, it is not to be found, at any rate, in the latest, those of Werlhof and Barthelemy; but the discovery of the coin described above may tend to confirm Sestini's reading, by showing the abbreviated name of another Sicilian town in a similar situation. I have a specimen of the coin of Terentius Culleo; but its condition does not enable me to decide as to whether the name LILYB has existed or not.

W. H. S.

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XXVI.

NOTE ON THE NEW SHILLING OF QUEEN ANNE.

I HAVE been much interested by the paper of Mr. Gibbs in the last number of the Numismatic Chronicle, on an unpublished Shilling of Queen Anne, dated 1707, with a star below the head. It is remarkable that no specimen of this coin has, so far as I know, been seen as yet in Edinburgh. I am not, however, altogether satisfied by the explanation which Mr. Gibbs has given of this coin.

I may mention, in passing, that Mr. Ruddiman (Introduction to the Diplomata, p. 231 of the Translation, 12mo., Edin. 1782) says nothing as to the *latter end of 1707*, which expression is due to Mr. Ruding. Ruddiman, after mentioning the calling in of the old money in 1707, says, "the next summer . . . they ordered the forty-shilling pieces - to be again issued out of the banks."

Mr. Gibbs considers, if I understand him correctly, the coins which have a star below the head, to be part of the second coinage, struck after the attempted invasion, those with 1707 and the star being struck some time before the 25th March, 1708, N. S., which would, of course, in O. S. be in the year 1707. Those coins, then, with 1708 and the star must, of course, be struck after this time, or in what would be 1708 either in old or new style.

It seems to me, however, that it is difficult, in this system, to point out when the coins with 1708 were struck, as these, being without the star, would appear to belong to

the coinage struck from the money at first called in, in the same way as those of 1707 without star.

The coins of 1708 without a star cannot belong to the period between the 1st Jan., 1708, N. S., and the 25th March, 1708, N. S., since this period, which, according to O. S. formed part of 1707, is already occupied by the coins pointed out by Mr. Gibbs with 1707*. Neither can they, as being without the star, the mark of the second coinage, be placed after the 25th March, 1708, N. S., although this, of course, is also 1708, O. S.

The explanation of Mr. Gibbs, then, if I understand it correctly, seems to me to leave no place for the coins of 1708 without a star, which, though very rare when Mr. Lindsay's book was published, not unfrequently occur now in Edinburgh. I know five specimens of the crown at least, which Mr. Lindsay had marked of the greatest degree of rarity, and I have seen specimens of the rest. As the tabular statement of Mr. Hawkins, quoted at p. 87 of the Chronicle, seems incomplete, I may mention that the crown, half-crown, shilling, and sixpence, are known of the following varieties, 1707, 1708, 1708*. Shillings only of 1709* have as yet occurred, as also of 1707*, the latter being those described by Mr. Gibbs, which have not yet occurred in Edinburgh. I know only two specimens of the shilling of 1709* in Edinburgh, but others may exist.

I have little or no doubt, however, that the missing parts of the series will yet be found, as it seems to me that we may reasonably suppose the entire series to have been struck on each occasion of a new variety, and as the complete series occurs of three of these varieties. I have little doubt, indeed, that coins will be found of 1709 without the star.

I consider, indeed, that the star has no particular re-

ference to the second mintage, but that it was simply used in the mint as a means of distinguishing contemporary coinages, perhaps by different moneyers. Mr. Lindsay, p. 68, considered the coins of 1708 without the star to belong to the early part of the year 1708, and that the star was then added to distinguish the coinage subsequent to the attempted invasion. This view is invalidated, however, as I think, by the occurrence of the coins of 1707*. We cannot suppose the coins of 1708 without the star and those of 1707 with the star to belong equally to the same period, that preceding the 25th March, 1708, N. S., as it is impossible to suppose the old and new style concurrently used in the mint.

I think that the legend must be given up, and that the star does not point out the coinage struck after the invasion. Ruding has no *authority* for stating that the second coinage was distinguished from the first by the star; Ruddiman says nothing of the sort.

Whether this may be conclusive or not I cannot say, but leave the point to the decision of the Numismatic Society.

WILLIAM H. SCOTT.

Edinburgh, Nov. 23, 1854.

XXVI.

ON A UNIQUE AND UNEDITED SILVER COIN (DENARIUS) OF ODOACER, KING OF ITALY, A.D. 476—493, STRUCK AT RAVENNA.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, 25th January, 1855.]

"Il est plus aisé d'écrire sur l'argent que d'en avoir; et ceux qui en gagnent, se moquent beaucoup de ceux qui ne savent qu'en parler."



Obv.—Eight letters; of which the first is an A inverted, the second V, the third appears a T inverted, the fourth O, the fifth G, the sixth V, the seventh A inverted, and the eighth C; reading AVTOGVAC. His bust to the right (paludatus), with diadem of pearls, and jewel in front.¹

Rev.—Within a wreath, or rather a laureate diadem, with round jewel in front, and ribbon behind, four letters; the first on the top is an R inverted, the second an A, the third V, and the fourth E, placed from right to left, reading RAVE (i. e. Ravenna); then a cross, which has to the right a small triangular dot. In the exergue is an annulet with a dot in the middle.

¹ The bust, being without beard, corresponds with the rest of the imperial denarii and quinarii of that period, as well as those of the Vandals and Ostrogoths.

The manner in which we find this name arranged on the coin must not surprise us, when we consider the various ways in which historians wrote his name. We find Odacer, Odacher, Odoacer, Odoachar, *Οδοακρος*, Odobachar, Odobagar, DN ODOVACAR REX,² Odovakar,³ Odovacher, Odoboger, Oduacrus (reminding us, also, of the different ways in which the names of some Saxon kings are arranged on their coins).

The form of the letter G in the name of Odoacer, on my coin, appears on coeval coins of the Vandals, Lombards, Merovingians, etc.; for instance, in the names of Gundebaudus, Sigismundus, Gondemundus, in Lugdunum, etc.⁴ With regard to the letter D, we find on our coin apparently a T inverted; such a case, and *vice versa*, is often observed in the legends on mediæval coins. We meet with remarkable examples on the coins of the three Othos (the emperors); also the name of the Bohemian king, Ottoakar, appears sometimes Ottaker, Ottgarus, Odaker, etc. On one of his coins at the Imperial Cabinet of Medals at Vienna, the name distinctly reads VTNAKARVS.⁵

With regard to the reverse of my coin, even the name of Ravenna was variously written.⁶ It was a small, but

² Marini, I papiri diplomatici, No. lxxxii.

³ Engippius, A.D. 511, in Vita Severini, c. 7. Tesauro del Regno d'Italia. Encyclopædie von Proff. Ersch, and Grüber. Tillemont, Histoire des Empereurs, vol. vii. p. 422.

⁴ Ch. Lenormant, "Les plus anciens monuments numismatiques de la série Mérovingienne," *Revue Numismatique*, 1853, p. 122; and in p. 125, the same form of G may sometimes be read S. See also M. Lenormant's *Découverte d'un Cimetière Mérovingien*, p. 68. Paris, 1854. Inscr. vi. in the word Germanus (Librairie Douniol, Rue de Tournon, No. 20). Argelati, vol. iii. p. 132, Nos. 2. 5.

⁵ Voigt, *Böhmische Münzen*, pp. 414, 415. 2 vols. Prag, 1771.

⁶ Argelati, vol. iii. p. 96. The old German was *Raben* for Ravenna. On the decay of Rome, Ravenna began to flourish,

strong city; and was preferred by Odoacer for his residence, to the vast extent of Rome, and its consequent incapability of a long defence. It became also the seat of the kings of the Ostrogoths; but Belisarius, in A.D. 540, having taken possession of it, the Ostrogoths made Ticinum (Pavia) their residence. Coins of Athalaric, as well as autonomous coeval coins, bear the name of Ravenna. The Roman emperors who succeeded Honorius also resided and struck coins there.⁷

Liruti (in whose time no coins of Odoacer had been discovered) conceives that coins must certainly have been struck at Ravenna, during his long residence there, as the following passage will show. He says, "Il quale (Odoacer) pose la sua sede in Ravenna. Costui avrà sicuramente fatta coniare sua moneta; e la Zecca, dove questa si coniasse, sarà stata in Ravenna ad esempio degli ultimi imperatori occidentali, che in quella città resiedettero."⁸

The most important account of the mint of Ravenna is, however, given by Pinti,⁹ who speaks somewhat in the

and became, in fact, the capital of the emperors of the West. It became, likewise, the original source of Byzantine influence in Italy; which influence showed itself also in the style of its churches and public buildings until the time of Charlemagne.

⁷ We find silver coins of Arcadius, Honorius, Johannes, Valentinianus III., Zeno, Basiliscus, Julius Nepos,—and copper coins of Justinianus I., Tiberius Constantinus, Focas, Heraclius and Martina, Heraclius Constantinus and Heracleonas, Constans II., Constantinus Pogonatus, Heraclius and Tiberius, Tiberius V. Absimarus.

⁸ Delle monete che ebbe corso nel ducato di Friuli, dalla decadenza dell'imperio Romano, p. 7. 1 vol. 4to. Venezia, 1749. See also Argelati—*De Monetis Italiae*, vol. iii. p. 91—134. Mediolani, 1750—on the coins of Ravenna. Zardini—*Antichi Edifizi di Ravenna*, cap. v. pp. 23—49. Faenza, 1762—speaks also of the coins of Ravenna.

⁹ *De Nummis Ravennatibus*, p. 29. Venetiis, 1750.

following manner: "Since the discourse has so far proceeded, that we should treat of the coins of barbarian kings who had their seat at Ravenna, it is necessary to begin with Odoacer. None of his coins, to my knowledge, remain; but I readily assent to Muratori, who conjectures that he also struck coins, and that the mints and practice of striking money never ceased at Ravenna; principally because Odoacer had seized upon Italy, held it for about seventeen years (with the name, but without the insignia of royalty) before the arrival of the Ostrogoths, as Cassiodorus relates in his Chronicle,¹⁰ and also because Odoacer had made Ravenna his capital, following the example given by the Augusti. But it will be more evident that the mint (commonly called the Zecca) existed at Ravenna at that time, if we attend to what the learned Garetius relates in his life of Cassiodorus, saying that Odoacer struck money, and that Cassiodorus himself presided over the mint."¹¹

This fact is confirmed by a remarkable and interesting passage in the writings of Cassiodorus himself. In his sixth book, "*Variorum*," in the seventh section, entitled, "*Formula comitivæ sacrarum largitionum*," we find the following words: "*Verum hanc liberalitatem nostram alio decoras obsequio, ut figura vultus nostri metallis usualibus imprimatur; monetamque facis de nostris temporibus futura sæcula commonere.*" If these words be not regarded as those of Odoacer himself, they may, at least, be considered to embody the order of Odoacer to Cassiodorus. They may be translated as follows:—

¹⁰ Sigon. de Occid. Imp. I. xx.

¹¹ "*Magis autem patebit per ea tempora Monetam, vulgo la Zecca, Ravennæ extisse, si perpendamus, quæ commentatur doctissimus Garetius (in vita Cassiodori), docens, Odoacrem monetam, cui Cassiodorus præfuit, percussisse.*"

"But this our munificence, you render graceful by this (additional) condescension, by impressing on the accustomed metals the form of our countenance, and by making our coinage remind future ages of our times."

This curious passage proves that Odoacer struck money; but it leads us also to infer, that Cassiodorus was charged with the striking of coins of gold, silver, and copper. It appears, likewise, that the mint was in the imperial palace.¹²

This denarius of Odoacer has been carefully examined and weighed by my learned colleague in numismatic pursuits, Mr. Thomas Burgon. He makes it $30\frac{5}{10}$ grains; and it approximates closely to other denarii of the period, in the British Museum, from Priscus Attalus downwards.

Two quinarii of Julius Nepos, A.D. 474, 475 (in the same fine collection), put in the scale together, weigh 28 grains, each having lost a little in weight. Of Odoacer there are now known three quinarii—one in the Imperial Museum at Vienna, the second in the Borghesian collection, and the third in the cabinet of the Marquis of Lagoy.

They are all struck at Ravenna, and bear also the profile.¹³ On the Vienna coin we read, FL. ODOVAC.; on the

¹² Maffei gives the signature of a deed of sale, of A.D. 572—"Johannis for. (i. e. forensis) huius splendidissimæ urbis Ravenatis habens stationem ad monetam auri in Porticum sacri Palatii" (*Storia critica diplom.*, p. 163).

¹³ His profile on the quinarii is, however, represented with a moustache, which is not the case on my denarius, as already stated. It may be that those quinarii were struck immediately after Odoacer came to power, not having yet abandoned a custom used, as it appears at that time, only by princes of the Barbarians. To this observation I may perhaps add, that Jornandes, in his treatise "*De Getarum sive Gothorum origine*," observes, that as soon as the victory of the Ostrogoths was confirmed, and Theodoric was by them proclaimed king of Italy, he took off his

other, FL...OVAC.; and the third has the name in monogram.¹⁴

Baron Marchant has published a small copper coin, which he attributes to Odoacer.¹⁵ It has his bust to the right, and OD... The reverse has a monogram.

The Imperial Cabinet of Medals, in Paris, possesses a fine denarius of Gunthamundus, king of the Vandals, A.D. 484—496, which appears to be very similar in design, size, and probably also in weight, to my denarius of Odoacer.¹⁶

After having offered a numismatic description of this remarkable coin, and ventured a few remarks which naturally suggested themselves on the discovery of a monument so confirmatory of the rude and peculiar state of society at the period to which the coin belongs, it may, perhaps, be found not uninteresting, if we proceed to collect together some of the facts, scattered through various historians, which have been preserved to us, relating to the individual by whose authority the coin was struck.

Rome had completed her twelfth century. From that period, almost all the rulers of Italy had been raised, and also expelled by their generals. Five of the former were deprived of their dominion and of their lives by Ricimer¹⁷

Gothic dress, and assumed the Roman costume, which confirmed his royal dignity as ruler of the Romans and Goths.

¹⁴ The first two coins have been published by M. Julius Friedländer, "Die Münzen der Vandalen. Berlin, 1849." Pl. ii. fig. 1, 2. The third has been published by the Marquis of Lagoy, "Monnaies de Rois Goths d'Italie, Aix, 1843." Pl. i. fig.

¹⁵ *Lettres Numismatique et l'Histoire*. Paris, 1851. Vid. *Lettre* xxi. p. 298. Pl. xxi. fig. 7.

¹⁶ *Lettre* xvi. p. 198. Pl. xxi. fig. 2.

¹⁷ He died in A.D. 472, 18th of August. Coins exist of Ricimer, which have his name in monogram. See Marchant, *Lettres Numism. et Hist.* Pl. xiii. fig. 6.

alone, who himself had invested four of them with power. The nobles of Rome, it is true, were yet rich, but had lost their importance and dignity; and the people were entirely without power or courage. The participation of the Greek emperors with the empire of the West had likewise already been limited to a useless veto upon the nomination of those of whom they did not approve. Not only strangers ruled in the adjoining countries of the Roman Western empire, but also in Italy itself appeared a foreign ruler. This was Odoacer; and with his government the long powerless imperial authority, as well as the name itself, became extinct.

Odoacer is mentioned by historians as the first Barbarian king of Italy, who reigned over a people who had once asserted their just superiority above the rest of mankind. His father, Edica (*Ædico*), had been minister of Attila, and his ambassador at Constantinople. Odoacer belonged, in fact, to a people of Germanic origin, the Scyrri, who occupied a country between the Danube and the Vistula; and after the dispersion of the Scyrri by the Ostrogoths, he was chosen, A.D. 463, the chief of the remnant of that reduced tribe.

With a mind suited to the most desperate adventures, he led a wandering life, almost that of a robber, in Pannonia and Noricum. He finally entered the imperial guard at Rome, and rose to eminence, having established a high opinion for courage and capacity. He also had cultivated the manners of the Romans; and, in fact, gained the unbounded confidence of the army.

After some years, he was at the head of the allied troops, which consisted of Germans, who formed the defence as well as the terror of Italy. In consequence of this elevated position, the imperial power, that was almost extinct, passed ultimately into the hands of Odoacer.

In Rome, Orestes, a Pannonian by descent, and who had served the Western Emperors as a soldier, had risen to eminence. On account of his great wealth,¹⁸ he had obtained, under the emperor Julius Nepos, the title and rank of patrician, and had married a daughter of a count Romulus, of Petovia, in Noricum. While at Rome in A.D. 475, he received orders from the emperor Nepos, to assemble an army and send it to Gaul, to protect it against an invasion of the Visigoths. Placed at the head of an army, Orestes availed himself of his power and riches, to make himself master of Italy, and forthwith set out for Ravenna, where the emperor Julius Nepos was residing. On his approach, on the 28th of August, A.D. 475, Nepos fled to Dalmatia, where he protracted his life for several years, till he was assassinated by two of his attendants [9th of May, A.D. 480]. One of them was named Viator, and the other count Ovide. The latter assumed the title of king, and was slain by Odoacer in A.D. 481.

Orestes, having arrived at Ravenna, had his son Romulus Augustus [Augustulus] proclaimed emperor of Rome the following day, and on the 31st of October, A.D. 475, he was invested with the purple at Ravenna, Orestes remaining, however, at the head of affairs. The numerous mercenaries, the fragments of many tribes and nations, with the aid of whom Orestes had accomplished his object, demanded in reward, one third of the soil of Italy to be divided among them. Orestes having declined to accede to their wishes, Odoacer dexterously turned the discontent of the mercenaries to his own advantage; and, encouraged by the

¹⁸ Several of the richest senators received from their estates an annual income of above one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling, as late as the time when Rome was first besieged by the Goths, A.D. 408. *Gibbon* viii. p. 199.

party of Nepos, promised to allot them the desired portion of Italy, if they would assist him to wrest the whole power from Orestes and the nominal emperor Romulus; a condition which the majority of those reckless warriors readily accepted. Thus arose a war between Odoacer and Orestes. The latter, after suffering some defeats at Lodi, retired within the walls of Pavia; but Odoacer took the town by assault, made Orestes prisoner, and had him conducted to Placentia. On the 23rd of August, A.D. 476, Odoacer took Rome; and shortly afterwards, Orestes was put to death. Romulus, who was found at Ravenna, was deposed and banished by the conqueror.

With the deposition of Romulus Augustus, the Roman empire in the West came to an end; the moderation of the usurper not having allowed him to take even the title of king.

The helpless Augustulus was reduced to implore the clemency of Odoacer, who granted him his life, on account of his youth and innocence, and assigned him also a considerable pension, but exiled him to the villa of Lucullus, which comprises in the present day, Castello dell' Uovo and Pizzo Falcone, at Naples.

Lakrimä Christi sind die Liebesthränen,
Nur dort könnt ihr der Erde Frühling finden,
Wo ihre schwarzen Todesschlünde gähnen.

Doch einmal bricht gewiss die lange Nacht heran,
Wo alle Lieder ausgeklungen,
Wo niemand mehr sich d'rauf besinnen kann,
Das Menschen dort geliebt, gesungen.

The ultimate fate of Romulus Augustulus is not known.

At this period the Roman senate wrote to the emperor Zeno, at Constantinople, to say, that as Italy itself did not require an emperor, he might take it under his protection,

and nominate the patrician Odoacer, in whose virtues the Republic had placed their confidence, to the administration of Italy. Odoacer, in order to establish himself, also despatched ambassadors to Zeno, requesting of him to be made Regent of Italy.

Pleased with this seeming submission, Zeno granted the request, and Odoacer acknowledged the sovereignty of the Emperor of the East, and henceforth reigned over Italy.

He took up his residence at Ravenna, and according to his promise, divided a portion of Italy between his supporters and barbarian followers. This appears to have been rather beneficial to the country, which was almost depopulated, and which had many estates without an owner and lying waste. On the whole, Odoacer, who was the first barbarian that sat on the throne of Italy, appears to have been a wise, well-disposed, and energetic ruler; and knew how to establish order within, and peace without his dominions, as far as the miserable moral condition of the Romans, the reckless spirit of their barbarian masters, and the daring capacity of their neighbours, were compatible with a settled state of things.

Among his measures at home, may be mentioned the re-establishment of the consulship, as a proof of his wisdom. His intention was to reconcile the remains of the old Roman government to the new. For himself he modestly declined an honour which was still accepted by the emperor of the East.

Odoacer united Dalmatia to the kingdom of Italy, after a sharp contest, in which he employed both a fleet and an army. He sought also the friendship of Euric, king of the Visigoths, one of the most powerful of the barbarians, to whom he confirmed, by a treaty, the possession of Provence.

which Euric¹⁹ had already wrested from Gallia during the reign of the emperor Nepos. He also made a successful campaign, in A.D. 487, against the Rugii, who endeavoured to make themselves independent in Noricum; their king Foeba (Felethe) and many of their nobles were taken prisoners [14th November], and the rest yielded to his rule.

Notwithstanding the prudence and success of Odoacer, his kingdom presented a sad scene of misery and desolation. Gibbon observes, that the confederates of Italy would not have elected him for their general, unless his exploits had established a high opinion of his courage and capacity. Their military acclamation saluted him with the title of king; but he abstained, during his whole reign, from the use of the purple and diadem, lest he should perhaps offend those princes whose subjects, by their accidental union, had formed the victorious army, which time and policy might insensibly unite into a great nation.

If Odoacer had actually taken the royal title, he would have made it known on his coins. The inscription on our denarius accords with the modesty of the chief of the Heruli. Ricimer, who was only patrician, took care to make it known on inscriptions, some of which have been preserved by Muratori and Baronius.

SALVS DD NN	F. L. RICEMERE V. I.
ET PATRICIO	MAGISTER VTRIVS QUE MILITIAE
RICIMER	PATRICIVS ET EXCONSUL
PLVTINVS	ORD. PRO. VOTO. SVO
EVSTATIV V. C.	ADORNAVIT.
VRB. P. FECIT.	

Unfortunately, however, for Odoacer, he had for an antagonist, Theodoric, a man still greater than himself. This

¹⁹ Euric died at Arles, in A.D. 484.

was occasioned by the conquests Odoacer had made on the Danube, and by his approach to the country of the Ostrogoths. Theodoric,²⁰ king of the Ostrogoths, had been for a time, a faithful ally of Zeno; but, in A.D. 487, he marched upon Constantinople, and Zeno, to save himself and his capital, gave Theodoric permission to invade Italy, to expel the usurper Odoacer from the country, and to establish the Gothic power at Rome.

It is stated by Jornandes,²¹ that on one occasion, Theodoric, in an interview with the emperor Zeno, addressed him in language to the following effect: "Wherefore does the land of the West, which has for a long time been under the government of your ancestors, and that city, the chief and mistress of the world—wherefore are they tossed about (as though by the waves) under tyranny of the Turcilingi and Rugi? Permit me, with my nation, to save you here from the expence of this war; and if, by God's grace, I am victorious, the fame of your piety will be rendered yet more illustrious. For it is indeed convenient, that if I, your slave and son, shall conquer, I should possess the kingdom as a free gift from you; but not that one (Odoacer) who is unknown to you should place your senate and part of your commonwealth under the yoke of a tyrant. For should I conquer, I shall be enriched by your donation and munificence; while, if I am conquered, your piety will not suffer any loss."

In A.D. 488, the Ostrogoths departed from Moesia, descended the Julian Alps, and displayed their invincible banners on the confines of Italy.

In A.D. 489, Theodoric opened his first campaign, and in

²⁰ Born at Vienna, A.D. 455; died at Ravenna, 26th August, 526, at the age of 72.

²¹ De Reb. Geticis. p.140. Ed. Hamb. 4to. 1611.

a bloody battle (29th August) on the banks of the Sontius (Isonzo) near the ruins of Aquileia, he foiled his rival, Odoacer, who was obliged to retreat; but he offered a second battle to Theodoric, at Verona (29th of September), and unfortunately again lost the day. Upon this, he hastened to Rome, in order to persuade the inhabitants to rise in his favour. But the Romans, preferring to stand alone in the conflict, shut the gates of the city on his approach, and Odoacer, consequently, retraced his steps into northern Italy, and threw himself into Ravenna. Thence he sallied out, defeated the van of the Gothic army, and compelled Theodoric to seek refuge within the walls of Pavia; but the Gothic king soon succeeded in rallying his forces, and a third time vanquished Odoacer, in a decisive battle, on the river Adda (Athesis) A.D. 490.

Odoacer again took refuge in Ravenna, and Theodoric laid siege to that city, while his generals gradually reduced the whole kingdom of Italy. During that time, the Roman senator, Faustus Niger, had been sent to Constantinople to request from Zeno the royal purple for Theodoric; because, in the eyes of the Romans, the legitimacy of his authority could not be established without the imperial sanction.

After an obstinate defence of Ravenna of nearly three years (490—493), during which the daring sallies of Odoacer carried slaughter and dismay into the Gothic camp,²² he at last agreed to admit the Goths into the city, on condition that in future he and Theodoric should be joint kings of Italy. The bishop Johannes Angeloptes of Ravenna was

²² A manuscript of the twelfth century, in the library of the Vatican, shews a curious representation of both kings, Theodoric and Odoacer, fighting on horseback. (Seroux d'Agincourt, pl. lxxvii., fig. 5.)

mediator, and the treaty was ratified by oaths taken by both parties, on the 27th of February, A. D. 493.

Theodoric, however, soon broke his oath; and on the 5th of March, Odoacer was stabbed by his rival, at a sumptuous banquet in the palace.²³

Den Lärm der Zecher übertäubt der Gläser Klang,
Die Reden athmen Lust, doch kocht im Herzen Wuth,
Sie sprechen, trinken, und beim frohen Sang
Bricht hell hervor die wilde Gier nach Bruderblut.

Gibbon observes, that Odoacer was not unworthy of this high station, to which his valour and fortune had exalted him: his manners were polished by habits of conversation, and he respected, though a conqueror and a barbarian, even the prejudices of his subjects. He was vigorous, young, tall, and of royal appearance.²⁴ Theodoric, who succeeded as king of Italy, restored, however, an age of peace and prosperity.

He was fond of Ravenna, and had the great aqueduct, built by Trajan, restored. His sepulchre is yet to be seen. It was erected to his memory by his daughter Amalasunta.²⁵

²³ The emperor Anastasius not only acknowledged the sovereignty of the Ostrogoths, but returned the regalia (ornamenta) which Odoacer had sent to him at Constantinople. It may be observed, that this circumstance gave cause to Theodoric to accuse the unfortunate Odoacer of treaties or negotiations with the court of Byzantium. We may suppose that this accusation furnished a pretext to Theodoric for the deplorable assassination of the unhappy prince.

²⁴ With regard to references to the ancient authors, on the reign and character of Odoacer, the reader will find a summary in the "Histoire des Empereurs," by M. de Tillemont, Paris, 1738, vol. vi., pp. 422—456. The Literary Gazette, July 15th, 1854, [No. 1956] contains the following paragraph [p. 660]: "We see by a Roman newspaper, that the tomb of Odoacer, the barbarian king of Italy, who perished A. D. 490, has just been discovered. It is, however, not stated where, nor are any details given, but it seems that the remains of the deceased were found intact, and that he was interred in armour, part of which was in gold."

²⁵ When Belisarius took Ravenna, the corpse of Theodoric was

There stood, also, a gilt equestrian bronze statue of Theodoric²⁶ before his palace at Ravenna, said to have been made at Constantinople, and that the horse was intended to carry a statue of the emperor Leo Isaurus.²⁷

When, in the spring of A.D. 801, Charlemagne returned from his coronation at Rome, he sojourned for a time at Ravenna, from whence he transported [with the permission of Pope Leo III., 795—816] many fine marble pillars and mosaics, mostly from the palace of Theodoric²⁸ (*Palatium Regis Theuderici*), and also the statue of the great king of the Ostrogoths, which he ordered to be erected before his palace at Aix la Chapelle. This statue is supposed to have been destroyed by the Normans, in A.D. 881.

In conclusion, I beg leave yet to observe, that this remarkable coin of Odoacer, may be properly regarded as the first in the series of mediæval coins. Odoacer, having put to death Orestes, and made the emperor Romulus Augustus captive, really terminated the empire of the West, A.D. 476, and from hence the period in history usually denominated the middle ages properly begins.

J. G. PFISTER.

BRITISH MUSEUM,
24th January, 1855.

torn out of the sepulchre [he being considered as a heretic] burned and the ashes thrown to the wind. With similar indignity, and at the same place, were treated the remains of the immortal Dante.

²⁶ Agnellus, in *vita S. Agnelli*, c. i.

²⁷ The aspect of the mighty charger and of his valiant rider, induced a contemporary poet of Charlemagne (*Walafrid*), to allude in his account of it, to the magnificent description in the book of Job (*cap. xxxix*) of the war horse leaping out to the combat. "The glory of his nostrils is terrible, he mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted; neither turneth he back from the sword," etc.

²⁸ *Egin. vita Car. M. c. 26.* *Basilicam Aquisgrani extruxit, ad cuius structuram cum columnas et marmora aliunde habere non posset Roma et Ravenna devehenda curavit.*

XXVII.

UNIQUE COIN OF SORA : STRUCK IN 1462, WHEN
THE DUCHY OF SORA BECAME ANNEXED TO
THE PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER.



NO coins of Sora, either of ancient or modern times, have hitherto been known. The fine didrachm now in the Bibliothèque Imperial, at Paris, which the distinguished numismatist, the late Mr. Millingen, was inclined to attribute to Sora,¹ belongs, as it is actually inscribed (*Corano*), to *Cora* in Latium. At Mr. Millingen's own request² the coin has again been carefully examined by the Duke de Luynes, and MM. Lenormant and De Longpérier, who are unanimously of opinion that the legend cannot be read otherwise than *Corano*, and that the coin belongs to *Cora*.

The type of our mediæval coin is that of the well-known Bolognini d'argento, a species of coin issued at the Mint of Bologna in 1191. In 1236, the type was altered on the reverse; and after this period, until towards the later part of the fifteenth century, these Bolognini had become a

¹ "Ancient Greek Coins," etc., London, 1831, pl.i. No.1; and again in his "Considérations sur la Numismatique," etc., Florence, 1841, pl.ii. No.17.

² "Supplément aux Considérations," Florence, 1844; "Additions et Corrections," p.21.

favourite currency, and were imitated by a great many towns in the southern part of Italy, particularly in the Roman states, such as Ancona, Camerino, Fermo (Firmana), Ferrara, Macerata, Perugia, etc. These towns, with a few exceptions, placed the initial A, as being the last letter in most of those names, in the centre of one side of the coin, as was actually the case on the coins of Bologna, BONONI · A. However, on others, the letter A was placed in the centre, merely as a servile imitation of the renowned Bolognino, as it appears on our coin of Sora; the same may be observed on coins of Arezzo,³ DE ARITIO · A, and on the coins of Gubbio (IKVVIVM, EVGVBIVM, EVGVBI) · A,⁴ DE EVGVBI · A.

The ancient Volscian town of Sora belongs to the Neapolitan states, and is situated in the Terra di Lavoro, about sixty miles from Rome. Its walls are washed by the Liris (now *Garigliano*), which divides into two branches. In the centre, rises a precipitous mass of rock, the summit of which is crowned with an old feudal castle (Rocca di Sora) with its hoary battlements, from whence may be enjoyed one of the most romantic scenes in this part of Italy. On crossing a deep ravine,⁵ the traveller arrives at once among the mountains,

³ Bellini, Dissert. i. p. 6; Dissert. iii. pl. 2, No. 5.

⁴ Bellini, Dissert. ii. p. 43, No. 2,

⁵ A tragic event happened on a bridge over one of these ravines. One of the counts of Orsini, the last of the feudal lords of the neighbouring Pitigliano, kept a mistress at Sora, yet was extremely jealous of his wife; who, fond and faithful, viewed his visits to the neighbouring town with great suspicion. On his return one day, finding her from home, he met her on the bridge which crosses the stream: "What have they been doing at Pitigliano to-day?" asked he. "Much the same as at Sora, I suppose," was the innocent reply. A guilty conscience and his jealous disposition caused him to misinterpret this answer; and, regarding it as a confession, he seized her in his wrath, and hurled her into the headlong torrent. He fled, and was never heard of more, and his villa, near Pitigliano, fell into utter ruin.

which gradually increase in altitude and majesty, and are cultivated as far as possible towards the sublime icy crest of Monte Amiata.

On the declivities of the mountains are situated villages, and numbers of hamlets. Sora, so often destroyed and rebuilt, has little to show of antiquities. A few inscriptions scattered about the environs, vestiges of a Roman road in blocks of lava, a few tombs, which have scarcely any other interest than to establish the Etruscan antiquity of the site, and a bridge over the Liris with traces of ancient sculpture, are all that remain.⁶

The attractions of Sora to the traveller consist only in its scenery. On no ancient site in the volcanic district of Etruria are the cliffs so lofty, the ravines so profound, the scenery so diversified, romantic and imposing; and it may be affirmed, that among Etruscan sites in general, none has greater claims on the artist and lover of the picturesque. But the romantic beauties of Sora are not less seen from below, especially from the road leading to Castel Ottieri, whence the view of the town and castle-crowned cliffs, can hardly be rivalled in Italy. This is the general account given by the few travellers who have visited Sora.

It is natural to suppose, that a country of such inviting beauty must have been inhabited and cultivated, from the most remote time. But let us approach an historical period to which we may fix the date of our coin.

During the reign of Ladislas, king of Naples (1386—1414), Pope Boniface IX. (Pietro Tomacelli, of Naples, 1389—1404), having furnished troops and 25,000 scudi d'oro, to Ladislas, obtained from that king, for his younger

⁶ Abeken mentions also remains of polygonal walling, (*Mittelitalien vor den Zeiten römischer Herrschaft*. Stuttgart, 1843, p. 148.

brother, Giovanni Tomacelli, not merely the county of Sora, but also the dignity of Lord High Chancellor of the kingdom. Of the town and territory of Sora, Ladislas had deprived the Candelmi, who were descendants of the royal house of Scotland, and had come to Italy with Charles I. of Anjou (1266—1285), who gave to Cantelmus de Scotia, the town and country of Popoli, and thrice appointed him viceroy of Naples; and to Bertrand Cantelmi the king gave the county of Sora, as well as some other neighbouring territories.

The name of the family, Cantelmi, was derived from a surname Kantel, or Kanclam, given to one of the sons of king Duncan I., and which implied a firm mind and excellent understanding. This Kantel went over to Normandy after the assassination of his father by Macbeth, in 1039, and then adventured, with a number of Norman knights, to the Holy Land, and settled after his return, in Provence.

In 1683, Charles II., king of Great Britain, officially notified, that this family (Cantelmi) derived their descent from the Scottish kings, and were related to him.

When, in 1406, Cardinal Angelo Cornaro, of Venice, was elected, under the name of Gregory XI., king Ladislas again deprived the Tomacelli of the county of Sora, and restored it to the Cantelmi.

Afterwards, Alfonso I., king of Naples (1416—1458), gave to Nicolo Cantelmi, count of Sora, the title of duke of Sora. In 1458, Pius II. (Piccolomini), having succeeded to Calixtus III. (Borgia), and being favourable to the Arragonese party, hastened to recognise Ferdinand I., the natural son of Alfonso, as king of Naples, and had him solemnly crowned by his legate, cardinal Orsini. This coronation was represented on the current money of the country, bearing likewise the legend CORONATVS QVIA ' LEGI-

TIME' CERTAVIT. Pius II. favoured him also with assistance against the powerful party of Anjou.

Soon after, the duke Federico, of Urbino, captain-general of the Neapolitan troops, was sent against Pietro Cantelmi, duke of Sora, who had thrown off allegiance to king Ferdinand; and, having gained some advantage, Federico obliged him to solicit peace; which the king granted to him under certain conditions.

Pietro promised all that was demanded, but did not fulfil his engagement; and, indeed, after the danger was over, he became rather more arrogant, and even prepared a numerous force, with the intention of invading the Papal dominions: so that when Pius II., to avoid the hot season of Rome, proposed to pass some time in the cool retreats of Tivoli, the duke Federico of Urbino (also Gonfaloniere of the church), remonstrated with his Holiness on risking his person at such a dangerous residence, because the duke of Sora had already made frequent plundering excursions in Latium.

Seine ganze Kriegescasse,
Zwei und zwanzig Quattrinelli
Die er mit aus Sora brachte.

And that also the famous Condottieri Picinino, of the Anjou alliance, had been recently welcomed by a proverbially treacherous population. To these entreaties, seconded by the cardinals, the Pope replied, that a residence among them was the surest means of recovering the affections of these citizens, and confirming their attachment to the Holy See.

Thither accordingly he was escorted by the duke of Urbino, with ten troops of horse.⁷ In the meantime, the

⁷ See Dennistoun's "Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino," vol. i. p. 116.

